

# VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

VOL. VII. (New Series), No. 299.

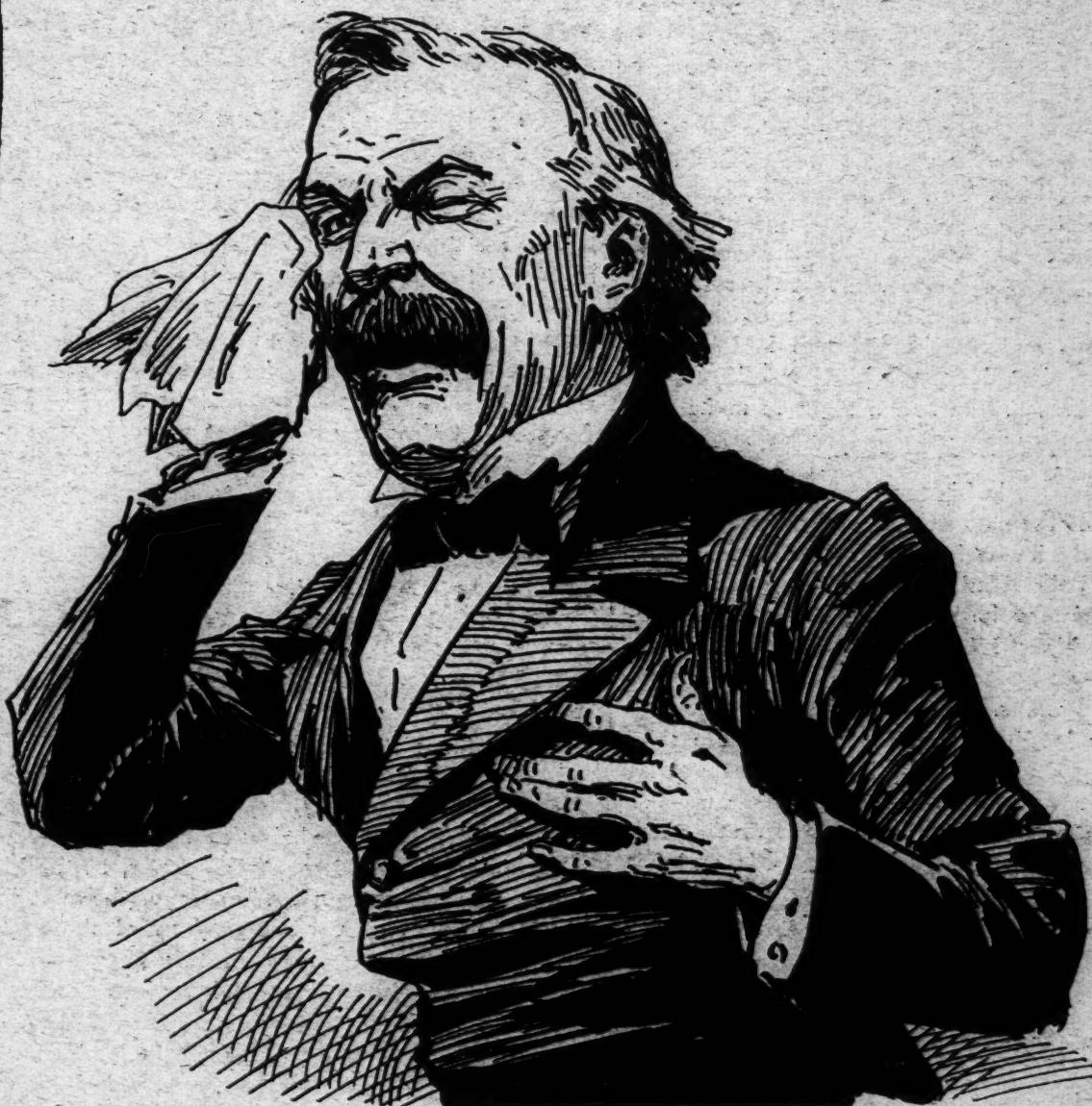
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1913.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free)

## MR. CHADBAND IN 1913

"As to what happened at my meetings in the matter of turning Women out... I don't mind telling you it fills me with great pain to see the process"

(Mr. Lloyd George to the M.P.U. deputation at Oxford, November 22, 1913.)



A PATRIOT.

"By-and-bye we shall have to order sacks for these women, and the first to interrupt shall disappear. . . . If she does not behave she and her friends must be flung out ruthlessly."

(Mr. Lloyd George, when women were thrown out of his meeting at Swansea, October 1, 1908.)

"I remember little Eisteddfodau at which prizes were given for the best hazel walking-stick. One of those sticks would be rather a good thing to have just now."

(Mr. Lloyd George when women were thrown out of the Eisteddfod at Wrexham on September 6, 1912.)

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### DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

### THE OUTLOOK

We hear on all sides expressions of the great grief which is felt at the death of Mr. William Bethell as a result of the injuries received at a Liberal meeting.

The solemnity of the great fight for freedom which has claimed this further victim has been brought home to many and has taken on a deeper significance.

#### Indignation Meeting

Coupled with grief at the loss of a young life and of sympathy with the bereaved relatives is a feeling of strong indignation at the brutality practised by Liberal stewards, of which the present tragedy is but one instance. Steps must be taken, it is realised, to bring home at once to the public what happens at Liberal meetings, where infuriated Liberal partisans are given free rein to wreak their vengeance upon those who dare to interrupt any prominent Liberal politician. The Men's Political Union have accordingly decided to hold a public meeting early in December, at which this matter will be brought specially to the front.

#### The Police to Take the Matter Up

Meanwhile we understand that the police are taking the matter up with a view to instituting proceedings if the facts which they can obtain justify them in doing so. We notice that Dr. Macnamara, in the course of a speech on Friday last, referred to the death of Mr. Bethell, and expressed the view that

the stewards on that occasion behaved with great patience and forbearance. If that statement represents his sincere conviction he cannot be aware that three well-known pugilists were recognised among the stewards, and that they were acting with them in removing the men who raised their voices on behalf of women. The employment of pugilists seems hardly compatible with ideas of patience and forbearance.

#### Mr. Lloyd George at Bay

Mr. Lloyd George saw two deputations of suffragists and one of anti-suffragists last Saturday on the occasion of his visit to Oxford. The first of these came from the Oxford Men's Political Union, and was introduced by Mr. H. W. Nevins, who sketched the history of the relationship of the Government to woman suffrage during the last eight years. He showed how again and again the pledges of the Government had not been fulfilled, and reminded Mr. Lloyd George that he himself had said on February 23, 1912, at the Albert Hall, that to suggest that the Reform Bill might be drafted in such a way as not to give an opportunity for amendment to include women was an "imputation of deep dishonour which he declined to discuss," and that "no Government







## A NEW FORM OF MILITANCY

By Gwynneth Chapman

In certain quarters the deadlock in the political situation of the Votes for Women question induces needless qualms; in others it inspires jubilations, certainly premature. "C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre!" quoted someone, unwillingly testifying to the continuous spectacle of heroism presented by a handful of unconquerable women engaged in duel with an entirely unprincipled Government.

The women themselves, not only the inner circle of the fighters and their immediate supporters, but the great mass of sympathisers, propagandists, those who find the sinews of war, are saying that the unequal struggle must be backed with new forces. Those who are inclined to believe that the political stagnation can be prolonged until the fighters are exhausted, must be made to realise that the war is not only not over, but is in reality only just beginning; that we women have many weapons in reserve; new forces to marshal and arm.

It is just at the crucial moment that a new organisation, apart from the Suffrage societies and their methods, but a supporter of them all in their aim, has sprung up. It has a clear field of operations outside the political sphere.

The League of Justice brings into play a new weapon of offence and defence hitherto neglected; one far reaching in its effect and particularly deadly in a society where profit is worshipped as a god. The new weapon is money; the new power, organisation of the money-distributing power women possess as the nation's housekeepers, the channel of the distribution of wealth, the consumer upon whose support and favour the prosperity of most trade enterprises depends.

The citadel that could not be taken by assault was always undermined or starved out. There are two ways of breaking up monopolies; one is to make them too hot to hold, as the militants are doing in regard to the franchise sex-monopoly; the other is to make them worthless, or reduced to the position of very expensive luxuries.

The new warfare is conducted in the field of profits. Few are the trades which will remain unaffected by it. The purveyors of drapery, clothing, furniture, food, jewellery, leather goods, nick-nacks depend entirely on women's custom; and a host of subsidiary trades to a great extent do so, too. The new awakening of women means the determination on the part of thousands of Suffragists that only those trades who support women in their struggle for liberty shall be supported by women's money in the struggle for wealth and success.

Members of the new league are pledged to support in trade only the known supporters of the vote for women, who show their support among other ways by advertising in the Suffrage papers. The support of the feminist Press is, in fact, a primary object of the league and this particular mode of supporting it is chosen because it is realised that the obstructionist daily papers against which the Suffrage Press has to contend derive their chief source of revenue from the drapery and other advertisements which are intended to secure the custom of women.

League members already deal with those firms who advertise in the Suffrage papers all the year round. But there is special reason at Christmas time when large sums of money are spent by women on Christmas shopping, that all Suffragists should unite in dealing with firms that announce their Christmas wares through the medium of the Suffrage Press. To let it be known that this would be done on a large scale would give a great impetus to the commercial prosperity of our papers.

Women are resigning from public work of a voluntary character, saying that the State that classes them with criminals, lunatics, and infants has no claim to their services.

Subscriptions are being withdrawn from public charities; more especially from the public hospitals where a sex-monopoly is maintained on women's money. A public protest to make it known that women are excluded from the medical staff and the medical schools of the big hospitals; even, disgraceful as it must seem to every fair-minded person, from the wards of the children's hospitals, such as the one in Great Ormond Street, is in preparation.

To gain the education and experience that are provided for the man largely at the public expense and from the purses of women, the women have to provide their own medical schools and hospitals. The League, therefore, is organising to concentrate the support of women subscribers upon the principal women's hospitals—the Royal Free in Euston Road, the New Hospital for Women in Gray's Inn Road; the two new ones building, the South London Hospital for Women on Clapham Common, and the little Hospital for Children in Harrow Road.

Practically every masculine monopoly is supported by women's money. Suffragists must see to it that the support is withdrawn, and that it is placed where it will promote the cause of sex-equality.

The day is gone by when we beg for our rights; let us organise and take them.

Let us organise so that the woman as consumer becomes a powerful third party in the economic warfare; her intervention in questions of wages and conditions of labour, a factor to be reckoned with both by politicians and by producers. No women workers could be excluded from any trade, or underpaid for their labour, if the women-consumers of the products of that trade went on strike.

The new policy has endless possibilities for the good of our cause; it only needs the backing of numbers. The League appeals to all Suffragists to come forward and support it, on the ground that it cannot thwart or hinder any work of any Suffrage society, or bring confusion into the political campaign, since it does not operate in the political field, but in the social and economic. It has no political policy; it is undenominational while supporting the Christian ideal and the Christian ethical system. It exists to fight the woman's battle wherever there is injustice and sex-bias to be overthrown, irrespective of creed or political interests.

Moreover, it is a fighting force within the law, for no law, human or Divine, can prevent women using their money in their own defence and distributing it where they will.

The millions which women scatter now haphazard, getting a very poor return in many cases, go to bolster up many forms of iniquity and oppression. Let us all begin to look not only where our money comes from, but where it goes.

Appeals to man's reason, justice, or generosity have proved useless. Let us not waste time in argument or persuasion. Let us act. Organise, organise is our watchword!

### "GREAT CATHERINE"

#### Mr. Shaw's Play at the Vaudeville

There is real laughter in Mr. Bernard Shaw's most farcical of farces at the Vaudeville, with an undercurrent of that ironic seriousness of his that intrigues and irritates one almost at the same moment. Great Catherine herself is wholly delightful. Like all militants and all rebels who have ever shocked their generation by trying to put the world into the melting-pot, the Empress, whose name suggests torture chambers and assassinations, turns out on acquaintance to be a simple, natural woman, hating ceremony and other signs of power, and absorbed in the establishment of a museum.

The supreme line in the play is the last one. She has been defied, lectured to, and—it might almost be said—humiliated by Captain Edtaston of the Light Dragoons. Her attendants, amazed at her silence, when he makes his pompous exit, ask leave to bring him back, to torture him, fling him into a dungeon, and all the rest of it.

Great Catherine shakes her head. "If I could only have him for my museum!" she sighs.

There is another exquisite line. Would Mr. Shaw have known how to write it if a certain movement had not swept over the country in the last seven years? It occurs when the Palace Guards arrest the Captain, tear him from his betrothed, and hold her back with rough savagery—all clearly without a warrant. "The police!" she shrieks in her foolish English way. "Send for the police!"

"We are the police," is the superb answer.

The rest is good fooling, with some excellent satire here and there. We grow a little tired of Prince Patomkin's epigrams and of Captain Edtaston's Briticisms; but they bore us less than they would in real life, and it is Mr. Shaw's business, no doubt, subtly to let us know that he means them to be bores. And every part is admirably cast. Miss Gertrude Kingston as Catherine is especially happy; so is Mr. Norman McKinnel as the Prince. Mr. Edmond Breon plays the Captain as foolishly as even his creator can desire, and the smaller parts are extremely well filled.

E. S.

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# MR. LLOYD GEORGE FACED BY OXFORD SUFFRAGISTS

"England, Sir, is a Nation Which Still, I Hope, Respects, and Formerly Adored, Her Freedom."

(Burke, in the House of Commons, 1775.)

Last Saturday morning, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had been speaking on the Land question the night before at the Oxford Union, received deputations on Woman Suffrage at Christ Church Deanery, where he was staying during his visit to the University. The first of these was from the Oxford Men's Political Union, led by Mr. Henry W. Nevinston and consisting entirely of Oxford graduates and undergraduates. The second deputation was from the Oxford Branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and the third represented the Anti-Suffragists.

## AN IMPRESSION OF MR. LLOYD GEORGE

AT THE OXFORD M.P.U. DEPUTATION

By Henry W. Nevinston

It was in the dining-room of the Deanery of Christ Church, my own college, and we came before ten, for the National Union and the Anti's were to follow us. In passing, I may say that the leading spirit of the Oxford Anti's admits that scarcely an Anti is to be found among the women students.

The Bishop of Winchester was present, with his son, now President of the Union. Mr. Whitehouse, M.P., the Parliamentary secretary to Mr. George, also came, and a few others, not counting about a dozen reporters. The interview lasted over an hour and a quarter, though our four speakers clipped their speeches very short, and left out much they might have said. While listening, the Chancellor settled into an armchair by the fire, occasionally raising questions and making rapid notes, which unfortunately, he afterwards forgot to use. All the time he also forgot to smile.

### Our Turn First

Happily, there was nothing in our statements to make him smile. He admitted they caused him great pain, and that was our object. There were no compliments. I began at once by saying that we came in no friendly spirit, but in the deepest indignation at the Government's behaviour towards our cause. As rapidly as possible I reviewed history since the Liberals came into power nearly eight years ago, especially dwelling on the Government's dishonour in disregarding its most solemn pledges after the fiasco of the Reform Bill last January. I pointed out that increasing militancy was the natural result of widespread grievance, coercion, and deceit. I quoted Mr. Churchill's saying at Dundee last month as to the success of Liberalism, because it always seeks to remedy the cause of violence. I quoted Lord Robert Cecil's saying that if men had been treated as women had been, we should have had, not casual outrages, but insurrection, and I read Mr. Ellis Griffith's fine defence of militancy as "the means by which alone the final victory will be won." I concluded by observing how terrible it was for any Government to allow the stain of dishonour to rest upon it, and for a Liberal Government to answer the demand for political freedom by nothing but coercion and methods of barbarism.

Mr. Harben, formerly of Magdalen, dwelt almost entirely on coercion and these methods. In the most moving speech of the morning, he described the atrocious treatment of women by Liberal stewards, Mr. George's own incitements, and the horrors of forcible feeding from his personal knowledge of victims who had been sheltered in his house. He referred to his past services to the Liberal Party, and his regret that the Government's action had made it impossible to serve them any more. But the part of his speech which went straightest home was his appeal to bygone years when Mr. Lloyd George had inspired young men

like himself with hope and admiration, so that they regarded him as the champion of all that was best and finest in political life. How lamentable was the change to the present time! It was a great appeal, and its effect was obvious.

Mr. Gerald Gould, formerly of Magdalen, now Fellow of Merton, limited himself to the present situation and the plain duty of the Government to redeem their honour by at once introducing a Bill removing women's disabilities. He showed that by admitting such a Bill, Mr. Asquith would be in no worse position than if the amendment to the Reform Bill had been carried, that it need not hinder the course of other legislation, or that, at the worst, Mr. Asquith might escape from the charge of dishonour by resignation. At a former deputation the Chancellor had laughed at such a proposal. Now he denied that he laughed, and there was some controversy on the point. But the newspaper reports are against him.

Harold Laski, scholar of New, one of the keenest supporters of our cause, spoke for the feeling among undergraduates, and dwelt on the indignation of the younger men at the Government's tragedy of errors. He said he had often been thrown out at Mr. Lloyd George's meetings, and had heard him charge the members of the M.P.U. with receiving money for raising the question at meetings. With indignant eloquence, he challenged the Chancellor to repeat that charge now, face to face.

### The Chancellor at Bay

But Mr. George was taking up no challenges. He rose, and, standing before the fire, began his statement, which lasted over half an hour. He spoke frankly, cleverly, and, best of all, with serious gravity. Perhaps he was impressed by the entire explicitness and vehemence of such a condemnation of himself and the Government; especially coming from men who were by nature and conviction Liberals or something more. But his speech was full of inaccuracies that cried out for correction, and he did not take up one of the direct challenges we had made. Condemning militancy, he forgot Mr. Churchill's first principle of Liberal success in dealing with violence. In lamenting the brutality displayed toward Suffragists at meetings, he forgot his own incitements to brutality. In pleading the impossibility of a Government Bill, he forgot the Government's deep dishonour under their broken pledge. In maintaining that it was the women who began the course of violence, he forgot the facts of history. And Laski's personal challenge he forgot altogether.

He contented himself with the usual fallacies and excuses. He was a true Suffragist, but would not put the question first (a contradiction in terms). He would do anything in the world to help us—within the bounds of Party loyalty (a useless offer). He could see no alternative to forcible feeding (the excuse of the slaver who could see no alternative to the whip, as Harben had pointed out). He doubted if we had the force of the majority of the country behind us (a dangerous excuse, even if it were true; for Gould compelled him to admit the Insurance Act had no majority behind it when it passed). But I need not summarise his speech for the papers have given us that. On this occasion, what the deputation said, not what the Minister said, was the important thing.

I have followed his career from the beginning. Like Harben, I have come under the influence of his inspiring zeal and courage in the old days. I have been flung out of meetings where I was on his side instead of against him. Whether from office, or from the seclusion and deadening cynicism of

the House of Commons, or from association with people of commonplace ideals of success, he has deteriorated. It is this deterioration that allows him to play tricks with a cause to which he professes devotion. It is this which blinds him to the terrible truth that, so long as he stands in partnership with injustice, cruelty, and dishonour, the curse of God will fall upon all the objects and measures on which his heart is set. We are contemplating the gradual corruption of an alert, sympathetic, and sensitive nature, and it is a lamentable process. Whether even now there might not be room for a repentance in one who formerly displayed courage and breadth of heart, I do not know. But until reparation to the cause of justice is done, there is no hope.

Laski added a characteristic touch at the end by asking for the Chancellor's notes to sell for the Suffrage cause!

## THE SPEECHES OF THE DEPUTATION

MR. HENRY W. NEVINSON

Mr. Nevinston (formerly of Christ Church) began by saying: I am, sorry we can't come here in a friendly spirit. We come in a spirit of very deep indignation at the mismanagement, as we consider it, of this question by the Government, and also because all of us are either Liberals or more advanced people, but owing to the behaviour of the Government we consider that we are unable to support the party to which we naturally belong. The indignation may be explained if I very briefly run through a few facts.

### The Tragedy of Errors

Mr. Nevinston then briefly narrated what has been well called the tragedy of errors which has marked the Government's treatment of the Suffrage question since 1906. He gave the record of every Suffrage resolution or Bill which has been before the House since that date, and dealt in scathing words with Mr. Asquith's broken pledges and Mr. Lloyd George's own share in destroying the accepted solution of the Conciliation Bill. He then quoted extracts in favour of militancy from the speeches of Mr. Ellis Griffith, Mr. Churchill, and Mr. Lloyd George himself; and ended by saying:

We say to you, therefore, sir, that you must seek the cause of violence before you can abate it; for when the cause is found and remedied the violence itself will disappear. We think that is the only possible solution. It is a terrible thing that any Government of any country should have brought on itself this stain of dishonour by the breach of pledges, and as Liberals we think it is a terrible thing that a Liberal Government should be so false to its principles that it answers a widespread demand for freedom and equal citizenship only by coercion and torture and methods of barbarism."

MR. H. D. HARBEN

Mr. H. D. Harben (formerly of Magdalen) spoke entirely on the Government's treatment of the Suffragists, both at Cabinet Ministers' meetings and in prison. He quoted Mr. Lloyd George's own incitements to the Liberal stewards at Swansea in 1908, and at Wrexham in 1912; and after minutely describing the process of forcible feeding, from the effects of it that he had witnessed in his personal friends, he concluded with the words:—

If you cannot manage women in this country without adopting methods of torture in prison, it is no argument in favour of torture, but rather an argument in favour of granting their just and reasonable demands. I speak with some feeling because I gave some of the best years of my life to the service of the Liberal party. I was attracted to the Liberal party very largely by the stand you yourself made in the dark days of Liberalism against hoodliganism at the time of the Boer War.

### An Accomplice in Barbarous Outrages

I believed myself at that time and for many years afterwards you had a moral influence over the young men of this country which was unequalled by any Minister, and I am sorry I have had to learn, as many people have had to learn,

that moral influence no longer exists, and you have become in your capacity as a Cabinet Minister an accomplice with other Ministers in most barbarous outrages on women in this country.

MR. GERALD GOULD

Mr. Gerald Gould (Fellow of Merton) began by saying it would be useless to tell the deputation that militancy had put back the cause, because in every case militancy had followed, not preceded, the breaking of Government pledges. Speaking of what the Government should now do, Mr. Gould said:—

It is not a question of what expediency allows, but of what honour demands. The minimum demand of everybody who is Liberal enough to be fond of democracy or humane enough to hate the torturing of women, is a Government measure for woman suffrage immediately on the re-assembling of Parliament. It is said Mr. Asquith is implacably hostile to Liberal principles of enfranchisement, and therefore it is impossible for a Government measure to be introduced. If Mr. Asquith is implacable to Liberal principles he ought to resign. We read that when that suggestion was made you laughed.

### Did Mr. Lloyd George Laugh?

Mr. Lloyd George: Where was this? Mr. Gould: It was a recent deputation of the National Union. I shall be glad to hear it is denied. That laugh is exactly the measure of that attitude towards women which is the ground of our complaint.

Mr. Lloyd George: I did not laugh. I gave my reasons why I thought it was impossible. I did not answer either with a scoff or a laugh.

Mr. Gould: It was reported. Are we to take this as an explicit denial of the reports in all the papers?

Mr. Lloyd George: If you have got it there I should like to see it.

Mr. Gould: It is perfectly familiar. Mr. Lloyd George: I gave my reasons why I considered under present conditions it was utterly impossible. I did not answer by a scoff.

Mr. Gould: I am sorry you were mis-reported.

Mr. Lloyd George: I am not at all sure I was mis-reported. If you can produce the report—

Mr. Nevinston: We can send you the report. I have seen it in several papers.

### What the Government Owes to Itself

Mr. Gould concluded by saying: We believe, when it is a question of going to the country, the Government will suffer enormously by its treatment of women. The question of expediency does not concern us, but because of the Government's name, because of its previous platform speeches, and because of its deplorable record, the Government owes it to itself to bring in this measure of woman suffrage.

MR. HAROLD S. LASKI

Mr. H. S. Laski (New) made a spirited attack upon the Cabinet's policy with regard to the women, saying that the teachings of history should have warned them of the impossibility of stamping out the movement by repression, and demanding that they should remove the stain on their honour by an immediate measure for woman suffrage.

### A Personal Challenge

I want to end with this word, a word of personal challenge, continued Mr. Laski. At one of your meetings a few years ago you said on the platform that it was an easy way of gaining a living to go and ask Cabinet Ministers about this woman suffrage. I have been thrown out of your meetings and thrown out with personal violence characteristic of the Liberal steward whom the Liberal Party employs. I ask you definitely, since you are lawyer enough to be aware it is perfectly useless to make an assertion against a class since that does not constitute libel, I ask you to make that assertion against myself, that I go and get thrown out and am paid by the suffrage party. . . . We hoped to have something to do with your party because it stood for ideals we admired, but it is only now by either leaving this Government, which is a stain upon your reputation and honour, or else by bringing in a Suffrage Bill, that we can see the possibility of associating with you or changing the policy which we believe will lead to the goal.

## MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S REPLY

Mr. Lloyd George, remarking on the frankness with which the speakers had put their case, said: "I can better understand now perhaps than I could before why you feel a certain measure of indignation which I think has driven you beyond what is judicious." He described as "hopelessly inaccurate" the statement that militancy



had always been the result of broken pledges. The first outbreak of militancy was at a Liberal meeting addressed by Sir Edward Grey—a sincere Suffragist, in spite of everything that had been said—held before the Liberals came into power. The second outbreak was at a meeting addressed by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in the Albert Hall, when the Cabinet had not yet met to consider its policy.

Mr. Harben: That was only heckling. Mr. Lloyd George: No, no; that is not so. Interruptions I don't object to. I get them at every meeting. There is a vast difference between the kind of interruption which is deliberately made in order to prevent a speaker from proceeding with his argument and the interruption which is strictly relevant.

#### What is "Relevant Interruption?"

Dealing with Mr. Nevinson's statement that the reason militancy went from point to point in breaking up public meetings was because militants were not allowed to put questions to Cabinet Ministers, he described his own experience when making a speech at Birmingham in 1906 or 1907 on Free Trade, when he announced that he would be happy to answer any questions at the end. Afterwards he was interrupted, and the purpose was undoubtedly rather to disturb the meeting than to elicit any opinion from him. He had invariably found that the militant suffragists present refused what he regarded as a perfectly fair offer to answer questions. The only alternatives were either to expel those who interrupted or to take elaborate precautions to prevent their getting in.

Turning to Mr. Harben's accusation that he had not intervened to prevent the ill-usage of women who were being turned out of his meetings, Mr. Lloyd George asked: "Do you think any man likes to see that sort of thing at his meetings? I don't mind telling you that it fills me, and the same thing applies to some of my colleagues, with great pain. It is hopeless to intervene. I have tried it once or twice. Either Cabinet Ministers have to give up speaking altogether or they have to have perfectly close meetings. I have tried to intervene once or twice even in places where I had special authority, such as my own constituency, but I found the people too utterly exasperated." They had perhaps come long distances to hear him speak, and they found about a dozen people who had absolutely no sympathy with the meeting, and no concern with the speaker except to worry him, deliberately trying to prevent 8,000 or 9,000 people from hearing him. "Well, human nature is, after all, not confined to Suffragettes, nor to the Men's Political Union. There is a good deal outside them. People at meetings under these conditions feel a very natural indignation at what they regard as a perfect outrage. It is idle to try and curb them under these conditions."

#### The Famous Torpedo

When he used the phrase about "torpedoing" the Conciliation Bill, it was quoted as if he had been guilty of some sort of treachery to a measure he pretended to be very much in love with. On the contrary, he had always been against it—long before Suffragettes were heard of. He never cared for Mr. McLaren's Bill, and he said so. He did not agree that Mr. Geoffrey Howard's Bill was a "ridiculous" one. He did not think it absurd to give votes to the wives of working men. What he said about the Conciliation Bill was that if it were made capable of amendment he would vote for the second reading, and that if his amendment were defeated in Committee he would vote for the third reading to get some measure of women's suffrage through. But he disliked the Bill. It was anti-democratic, and ruled out millions of women who stood in far more need of protection than many of the rich women who would be enfranchised by the Conciliation Bill. He voted for it nevertheless.

Mr. Nevinson: You destroyed it.

Mr. Lloyd George: If I did I should have rejoiced in it. There is nothing I should like better than to see that Bill out of the way. I should take it if I failed to get anything else, but I should take it with a wry face.

#### Not Prepared to Make Sacrifices

Mr. Nevinson, he went on, was rather concentrated upon this cause; probably more than upon any other branch of the Liberal programme. The rest of Liberals had to think about at least half-a-dozen measures. There was a point at which one had to say: "I am going to sacrifice everything to this one measure." But that was a choice which must be left to the individual conscience of each man. If Mr. Nevinson were in the Cabinet he

would choose to make the sacrifice on women's suffrage.

"I, in the Cabinet," proceeded Mr. Lloyd George, "would have chosen another measure. I say unhesitatingly that if the Liberal party had declined, for instance, to press forward a great measure of social reform in connection with the land I should not have had the slightest hesitation in departing from the Cabinet and taking my chance among the private members. It just happened that it was not necessary for me to use any threat. Mr. Nevinson knows that every man must choose the thing which his own conscience dictates to him—that which makes the greatest appeal. I should have done the same thing for Welsh Disestablishment, because I was chosen first of all upon that question, and I should have regarded it as a matter of personal loyalty to the people who chose me. I do not feel called upon at the present moment so long as other questions are in hand, to wreck the Government, to wreck the prospects of other measures, to wreck the prospects of my party, for the sake of women's suffrage. I will be perfectly frank about it. If I can do anything within the limits of party loyalty to press forward the cause of women's suffrage I shall do it. At the present moment I don't feel called upon to go beyond those limits."

#### On Removing the Grievance

Mr. Harben: Cannot you stop forcible feeding, sir?

Mr. Lloyd George replied that he agreed that it must be a horrible process, especially to women highly strung and with delicate constitutions and sensitive fibre. He did not pretend it was anything else. But what was the alternative? It was said that the alternative was that they should do justice and remove the grievance. But removing a grievance in a democratic country meant that they must get the majority of the voters to be prepared to concede the point. "I am not convinced for the moment you have a majority. It has been suggested that I can on occasion press through Bills which have not the support of the majority of the people. I will admit, for instance, that if you had had a plebiscite on the Insurance Act while it was going through it would probably have been thrown out. That is my conviction. I believe you would have had a majority of the people of this country against it. That is an admission. I don't know whether I have made it before, but I make it frankly to you now."

#### Two Ways to Carry Bills

"There are two ways in which you can carry bills. One is by having a great wave of feeling behind the bill, the other is by the use of the party machinery. You have not got the party machinery, and there is no party you can capture at the present moment which has anything like a prospect of having a majority in the State. I am not referring to the Labour Party. You have got the majority of the Tory Party against you; you have a third of the Liberal Party against you. Therefore the only alternative is to secure a majority of the country, and you have not got it. I know something about public opinion. I am not condemning militancy morally; I am condemning it tactically. Militancy has set public opinion against you for the moment. It has, really. You defend it and say, 'Well, have not men done the same thing in the past?' Men have done the same thing in the past when there was a vast majority of men demanding something and a small minority refusing it. Public opinion was for them, and there was an interested narrow, bigoted minority who resisted at the end. Then came force, which broke down that resistance."

#### Yesterday's Jam Satisfactory

"What is your position? You were a minority in 1906; the vast majority of the nation was indifferent. You made progress for some time. I would not be prepared to say that the first militant movement did not attract attention, which made people discuss it. But I think you have gone too far. I don't believe people minded you worrying Cabinet Ministers, but now you have outraged every kind of public opinion. You have quarrelled with the Irishmen; you have quarrelled with the Welshmen; you have quarrelled with property, with the Liberal Party; you have gone to Nonconformist meetings, peace meetings, temperance meetings. I cannot think of any shade of thought you have not deliberately tried to offend and set against the suffrage. Well, you may be very much greater tacticians in political matters than any of us. We are not tyros; we have some experience of carrying great measures in this country. I cannot imagine what you think you are doing. It may be you say: 'We are going to carry through this in the teeth of public opinion.' You won't. If you are trying to win public opinion, powerful speeches such as you made this morning would have a much greater effect than any menace."

#### Forcible Feeding Defended

Returning to forcible feeding, Mr. Lloyd George said the only alternative was allowing the women to starve. Was that really counselled by anybody? When

someone committed what was a crime against society, whatever the motive might be, there was only one thing to be done unless they were going to abandon law altogether and the whole organisation of society. You may say: Abolish prisons. That is a thing people have advised. But you don't do that. You want prisons to protect your own property and lives. No; you must either starve them altogether or use the method which the Home Secretary has adopted for these cases. I don't think there is much forcible feeding now.

#### DEPUTATION NOT SATISFIED

Mr. Nevinson, in thanking the Chancellor of the Exchequer for his frankness, said they could not regard his answer as in any way satisfactory. The only solution, he said, was for the Government to redeem their pledges. Militancy would go on—nothing could stop it—until the Government redeemed its pledge and did justice to women.

#### DID MR. LLOYD GEORGE LAUGH?

With reference to Mr. Lloyd George's denial of having laughed at the suggestion of Mr. Asquith's resignation, we give here with the extract from the *Times* report (November 8) of his interview with the deputation from the Women's Freedom League at Middlesbrough on November 7:—

"Mrs. Coates: Why not get Mr. Asquith to resign? Mr. Lloyd George laughed,

and Mrs. Coates said that Mr. Chamberlain resigned on Tariff Reform.

"Mr. Lloyd George: What has been the result? Has he carried it?"

"Mrs. Coates: This matter would be carried."

#### Does Mr. Lloyd George still deny this?

It will be interesting to know if Mr. Lloyd George still denies that he laughed on the occasion referred to. If he does, he is placed in the very awkward position of "accusing" a newspaper reporter of having misreported what occurred, and we all remember Mr. Lloyd George's righteous indignation with Lord Wolmer for bringing a similar charge against a reporter last summer. In the *Times* of September 3 the Chancellor's letter to Lord Wolmer is published, containing these words:—

"Do you really mean to bring so grave an accusation against those who reported your speech? . . . I can hardly believe that . . . you would be guilty of the dastardly meanness of accusing hard-working men of either incredible professional incompetence or of grave professional misconduct."

Did Mr. Lloyd George laugh? Or is he guilty of the "dastardly meanness" he refers to in the above letter? We shall be interested to know which it is.

(The account of the other two Oxford deputations to Mr. Lloyd George, will be found on page 135.)

## WOMEN LIBERALS

According to "P. W. W." in the *Daily News*, the membership of the Liberal Women's Suffrage Union already numbers some thousands. This Union, as we announced at the time of its formation in the summer, consists of Liberal women who have signed a membership pledge undertaking not to work for any Liberal candidate (till after the next General Election) "who is not in favour of Woman's Suffrage." The effect of this will be, it is hoped, to concentrate the efforts of women Liberals in those constituencies where the Liberal candidate is prepared "to make a clear and public declaration that the enfranchisement of women is an essential part of representative government," and "to take action accordingly."

#### THE LIBERAL "ANTI" A WOMAN LIBERAL HECKLER

That the L.W.S.U., though it does not go as far as we could wish, has got some real life in it is evident from more than one significant occurrence during the past week. First among these should be chronicled the spirited interruption made by a woman Liberal at the annual meeting of the Ilfracombe Women's Liberal Association, on November 18.

The incident occurred when Mr. H. A. Baker, who is the prospective Liberal candidate for the division and has publicly refused to help the Woman Suffragists, rose to address the meeting.

#### "This is no Place for Me"

Immediately, from the body of the hall, came a protest against forcible feeding—the first public protest ever so made at a Liberal meeting in that neighbourhood. Miss Eldridge, a prominent member of the Ilfracombe Suffrage Society, called out: "I rise to protest against the forcible feeding—" Her voice was at once drowned in the usual storm of illiberal objections to free speech, but she continued to speak, and words were heard here and there, referring to the actions of the Liberal Government which she wished to denounce. "Give her a fair audience," pleaded the President, Mrs. Gould, who added that Miss Eldridge was a member of the Association.

"Not now," swiftly replied Miss Eldridge.

Mrs. Gould, saying that in that case she had no right at the meeting, gave her permission to speak if she would be brief.

"Will Mr. Baker answer questions at the close?" asked the interrupter.

"No," replied Mrs. Gould. "This is not a public meeting."

"Then," said Miss Eldridge, "there is no Liberalism here, and this is no place for me."

She then walked out, accompanied by another dissident, Miss Ball.

#### A "FULL" LIBERAL

A correspondent, signing himself "A Full Liberal," writes to the *Nation* to protest against the very rational statement which appeared in the preceding issue of that paper to the effect that "Everyone who understands the full doctrine of Liberalism must accord them [the workwomen] an equal right of enfranchisement."

The "full" Liberal answers this as follows:—

"This is a very dogmatic assertion, but are you then going to exclude from full possession of the Liberal spirit those of us who think that to give the Parliamentary vote to women would upset the basis on which society is built, and lead to social and domestic anarchy? I believe that

fully one-half of the Liberal party disagree with you on this subject entirely, and think that women physiologically, and by temperament, are not adapted for the function of Government, and agree also with St. Paul (Asiatic though I have heard him called) that a leadership has been given to men by the Creator of the race. But perhaps St. Paul and physiologists, too, are to go by the board in the company of the Prime Minister, for it is quite evident that he does not understand 'the full doctrine of Liberalism.'"

#### Arks for Liberals!

Really, there is nothing to be done for so-called Liberals of this type but to consign them to the Ark from which they seem by some untoward accident to have emerged. Sir William Priestley, M.P., is another Liberal "Anti" who will have to take refuge in that archaic vessel before the flood of Woman Suffrage has risen very much higher. At Bradford, last week, this gentleman, in reply to a Suffragist who said that a Liberal Government ought to be ashamed of torturing women, made the fatuous remark that the best soul in the world was his wife, who attended to her home and let him talk politics. He did not believe in women having the vote. He put woman on a higher plane than she put herself. And so on, and so on.

On the whole, we feel it is rather an insult to the progressive instincts of Noah to suggest that Sir William Priestley would have made him a congenial political companion.

## THE HOME COUNTIES WOMEN LIBERALS

#### Mr. F. D. Acland Commends the Strike

At a well attended conference of the Home Counties Union of Women's Liberal Associations, held last week at Guildford, Mrs. Eva McLaren proposed a resolution which was passed with only two dissentients, urging Women's Liberal Associations to do their utmost to secure the adoption of candidates who were in favour of Woman Suffrage, and to undertake to abstain from working officially for candidates who were opposed to that reform.

Mr. F. D. Acland, M.P., Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said he did not agree that it was outrageous for Liberal women not to work for a Liberal candidate. What would have happened in the 'sixties if the Whigs had expected the workmen to work for their democratic reforms while depriving them of the franchise? The same conditions, he submitted, applied to-day in regard to women, and sooner or later Liberals would have to face the fact that unless they would enfranchise women they could no longer expect work from them.

#### WHAT WOULD THE CONSERVATIVES DO?

##### Lord Robert Cecil, M.P.

Lord Robert Cecil, speaking last week at a meeting of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association held at Leamington, said that he believed that the present position of the Suffragist cause was very favourable. Whatever Government was in power, the question would have to be dealt with in the near future. He had no doubt about that.

#### THE CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION'S VOTE

The question is, are the Conservative leaders prepared to take any steps to consult the country on the point? or are they going to ignore the subject at the next election, and then take refuge in the plea of "no mandate"? This vote makes it more than ever imperative that the Conservative and Unionist leaders should be asked to declare themselves on the question before the General Election.—*Irish Citizen*.





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## "FOR ALL PRISONERS AND CAPTIVES"

**Dean Inge and the Clergy**

The incumbent of a Brighton church was asked to pray for sick and captive suffragists, and especially for Rachel Peace, at Sunday morning's service. What he did was to omit the petition for the sick and captive, and to make a cryptic reference in his sermon *à l'adresse* of any suffragist who might be there to hear. This cryptic utterance was that "there are, no doubt, some unjust laws, but while they are the laws, they must be obeyed, for the law of man is the law of God." It is presumptuous, no doubt, to suppose that the clergyman in question has only a bowing acquaintance with the Gospels, especially as I am a Catholic, and am therefore believed to possess but a hazy knowledge of them myself. But I seem to have read there that the Jews said they "knew" Jesus Christ was "not of God" because He broke the Jewish law. I seem, too, to remember that Jesus used scathing words about those teachers of law and religion who dared to substitute the "traditions of men" for the "commandments of God." Yet here we have a clergyman venturing to tell us that "the law of man is the law of God"!—venturing to assert that though there are bad laws, they are still God's laws, thus making God a minister of evil.

### "Thoughts Out of many Hearts"

The woman's movement is revealing "thoughts out of many hearts," as was prophesied of old; they are evil thoughts as well as holy thoughts; and the evil thoughts are showing the utter nakedness of what passes amongst us for religion. When women made their prayers for the captives in St. Paul's Cathedral, they were told that if they wanted to pray they must go elsewhere; one official said "Damn you"; and another, "The best place for you is hell." One of those persons in the Cathedral who wear cloaks, and brown and red badges, after ejecting a woman, said to her, "You are nothing but vermin, that's what you are, just vermin."

These pious incidents seem to me to hang together excellently well with Dean Inge's protest against a bishop's invitation to denounce the forcible feeding of women; these women he calls criminal miscreants, "convicted of the most heinous felonies known to the law." "Like master, like man," but no!—ignorant hirelings in a church, who use foul and violent language, are not really comparable with an elder disciple of Christ who evokes the law as the measure of holiness, and implies that the burning of empty buildings is a more "criminal" offence than that of the man who assaults a girl-baby.

### Let She should be Prayed for!

I understand that at the parish church at Brighton on a recent Sunday, one of the officials said to the woman who had made their petition for Rachel Peace, "You ought to get your necks wrung." This is "religion" as she is presented to us by males after 2,000 years of the Gospel. The men have shown us their cupboard bare of religion, of faith, of charity. Perhaps nothing more startling in its irreverence, and in the real negation of God, can be imagined than a clergyman leaving out the prayer for the sick and captive lest Rachel Peace should be prayed for! Prayers, after all, are, of course, only a perfunctory rite; no one will be a penny the worse if they are not said!

Now it is no exaggeration to say that Jesus broke the law on all possible occasions; that it was as a law-breaker He was condemned. Nay, at the last, He was condemned—who dare doubt it?—as a brawler in the temple. Which of the phrases I have preserved would churchmen, sidesmen, beadles, and vergers have used—with the complacency of curates, vicars, and deans—had their Lord come back unrecognised and undesired, and brawled in that respectable fane built in His honour by Christopher Wren? We have heard of the tragedy of great men born a hundred years before their time; but this is nothing to the tragedy of deans born two thousand years later than was at all necessary.

Listen to the speech, which would have sounded so well in the Sanhedrin in the year A.D. 1, that not a line need be altered, although it only made its appearance in print over the signature of a dean of St. Paul's in the *Times* of November 22, 1913:—

"The priests and elders cannot, and ought not, to be silent when the wife of a governor\* who, in the most solemn moment of his life, promised to 'set forward quietness, love, and peace among all men, and to correct and punish such as be unquiet, disobedient, and criminous,' comes forward as the champion of a criminal anarchist, convicted of the most heinous felonies known to the law." A hypothetical disapproval of "some of His methods" does not mend matters in the least. The plain object of the protest is to embarrass the Sanhedrin in protecting life and property against this miscreant, and no alternative method of coercing Him (except crucifixion) is even suggested.

**M. A. R. TUKER.**

\* Christianity has effected something: I can find no parallel to the Bishop of Kensington's protest in the year A.D. 1, because all the priests then were what the majority are now.

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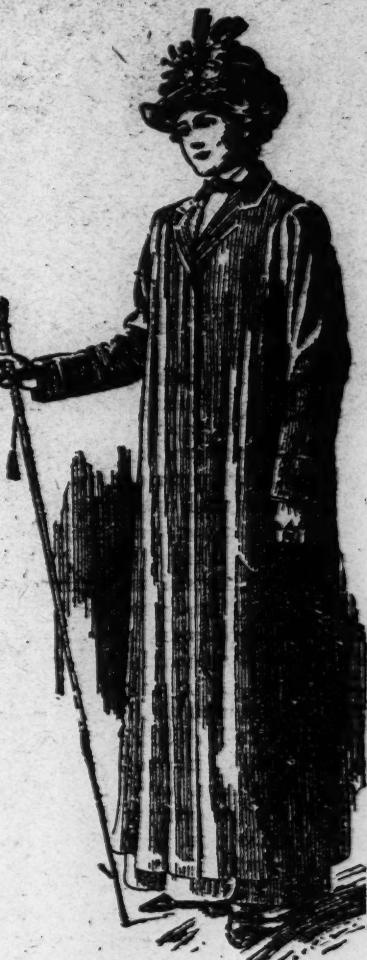
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## NEW BOOKS

### "THE FUTURE OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT"

Many books are written to-day on the Woman's Movement from opposite points of view, and many of them only add to the dust already whirled up by opposing forces. Mrs. Swanwick's work is therefore all the more welcome that it rather tends to clear the air than obscure it, and is written in a calm and reasoning spirit. There is no trace of "anti-man" feeling; yet a thinking man, reading the book, could not fail to realise that the world as he has made it for women is often far from a pleasant place. The author sees it now changing fast, and changing for the good, thanks to the indomitable spirit of women-kind and the ready sympathy of some good men. Mrs. Swanwick is merciless towards the sentimentalist and the "Anti"; and with relentless logic and often biting humour she exposes their flaws and fatuities. Irresistibly attractive is the manner in which she seizes on the weapon of the enemy and turns it to good account against himself. Referring to Sir Almroth Wright's now famous letter to the *Times* and the gratuitous insult conveyed therein to the women of the medical profession, she writes:—

One has seldom read a more splendid tribute to the courage and candour of women—a tribute all the more splendid because so entirely voluntary—for women know how scientific men of the type of Sir Almroth Wright have made the path of scientific knowledge a very Calvary for modest women.

The chapters on the "Prostitute" and "Commercialised Vice" are very fine, and we do not remember ever to have seen it more clearly stated how difficult it has been for woman to earn her living by any means save the sale of her body, and how very easy that way has been. Yet, when she has succumbed to the temptation, man has turned round and punished her, as if, says the writer, A. and B. stole apples, A. escaped and left B. to be birched for the rest of his life.

The book goes so very good of its kind, it is much to be regretted that in referring to violence shown by a rough crowd to the Suffrage Pilgrims Mrs. Swanwick should have so allowed her personal dislike of militancy to override her better judgment and sense of truth as to state that—

They (the crowd) were so shocked at the violence of the militants that they felt impelled themselves to resort to worse violence.

Surely Mrs. Swanwick must have heard of the early days of the suffrage movement; how, long before militancy was dreamed of, the leader of her own society was driven from the platform by a mob of men and boys for daring to assert that women should have a vote!

K. D. S.

### PIONEERS, O PIONEERS!

Mr. Brailsford begins his "History of the French Revolution in England" with Dr. Price's sermon after the fall of the Bastille, and ends it thirty-two years later with the publication of Shelley's "Hellas." These are arbitrary limits, but they serve their purpose quite well. If Mr. Brailsford has nothing very new to tell us in his account of Godwin, Paine, Holcroft, Mary Wollstonecraft, and Shelley, it is a good thing to be reminded of the words and deeds of these pioneers of democracy, especially as most of us have forgotten all about the philosophical anarchism of Godwin's "Political Justice" and the savage Government prosecution of the London corresponding Society. With an understanding both appreciative and sympathetic Mr. Brailsford has sketched these portraits, and the result is a singularly clear and faithful picture of a very notable group of persons. The general accuracy of statement in matters of fact cannot be questioned, and of course from the revolutionary and heterodox standpoint Mr. Brailsford's commentary is excellent. It is just because we like the book, and find it eminently readable, that such a sentence as the following is so disturbing:—

If you feel in yourself something less than the heroic temper which will make a militant agitation or a violent revolution against the monstrous ascendancy of privilege and ordered force, you are lucky if you can convince yourself that agitation is commonly mischievous, and association but a means of combating one evil by creating another.

We take Mr. Brailsford's meaning; but the arrangement of words is unhappy, and the sudden lapse into colloquial platform manner is an outrage on the reader

J. C.

### BOOKS RECEIVED

"A Novel Founded on Shakespeare's Comedy, 'The Merchant of Venice.'" By a Popular Novelist. (London: Greening and Co. Price 6s.)

"The Christ of the Healing Hand." By James Leith Macbeth Bain. (London: Theosophical Publishing Company. Price 3s.)

"Modern Astrology." Christmas Number. (London: Imperial Buildings, Ludgate Circus, E.C. Price 6d.)

"Woman at Home." Christmas Number. (London: 8, Southampton Street, W.C. Price 6d. net.)

"The Future of the Women's Movement." By Mrs. H. M. Swanwick. With an Introduction by Mrs. Fawcett. (London: G. Bell and Sons. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"Shelley, Godwin, and their Circle." By H. N. Brailsford, M.A. Home University Library (Williams and Norgate. Price 1s. net.)

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The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of unused manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested if stamps for postage are enclosed. MSS. should, if possible, be typewritten.

Subscriptions to the Paper should be sent to The Publisher, **VOTES FOR WOMEN**, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

The terms are, post free, 6s. 6d. annual subscription, 3s. 3d. for six months inside the United Kingdom, 8s. 8d. (\$2.25c.) and 4s. 4d. (\$1.15c.) abroad, payable in advance.

The Paper can be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls. In New York, at Brentano's; Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta; and at Handel House, Ltd., Eloff Street, Johannesburg.

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## VOTES FOR WOMEN

4-7, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1913.

## A MODERN GEORGE WASHINGTON!

In attempting to defend himself against the charges brought by the deputation from the Oxford Men's Political Union last Saturday, Mr. Lloyd George adopted his usual plan of placing the blame for the present situation with regard to woman suffrage upon militancy. Not content with his customary general statements, he went back to the beginning of the conflict between women and the Government, and claimed that the meetings of Sir Edward Grey at Manchester and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman at the Albert Hall were interrupted by women before the Liberals had done anything to cause women to be militant.

To the suggestion that these interruptions were not "militancy" as it is commonly understood, but simply "heckling," Mr. Lloyd George said definitely: "No, that is not so, I don't object to interruptions. I take them at every meeting. I think every speaker rather prefers them; but there is a difference between the sort of interruption which is deliberately made in order to prevent a speaker from proceeding with his argument and the interruption which is strictly relevant to what is being said."

From this statement of Mr. George the general public would suppose (as no doubt they were intended to suppose) that at Sir Edward Grey's meeting and at Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's meetings in 1905 woman suffragists were present with the deliberate object of breaking up the meetings, and that they interrupted them in the course of their speeches with the intention of doing so.

What are the true facts? In the autumn of 1905 it was generally recognised that the sands of the Conservative Government were running out, and that a Liberal Government would shortly come into power. Sir Edward Grey went down to the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, to outline Liberal policy. His speech was listened to throughout in perfect silence. At the close of his speech questions were invited from the audience. Several men put questions and received an answer. Then a woman (Miss Annie Kenney) rose to ask what steps would be taken by the Liberal Government if returned to power to give votes to women. No answer was received. She then held up a little banner inscribed with the words

"Votes for Women," in order that the nature of the question might be understood by the audience, and pressed for an answer. But the men sitting near her forced her down into her seat, and one of the stewards of the meeting held his hat over her face. Meanwhile the hall was filled with a babel of conflicting sound: shouts of "Sit down!" "Be quiet!" "What's the matter?" and "Let the lady speak!" were heard on every hand.

Then Christabel Pankhurst got up and asked again: "Will the Liberal Government give women the vote?" But Sir Edward Grey made no answer, and again rose the tumult of cries and counter-cries. Then the chief constable of Manchester, Mr. Robert Peacock, came down from the platform to where the women were sitting, and asked them to write out the question that they had put to the speakers, saying that he would himself take it to the chairman and make sure that it received an answer. The women agreed, put their question in writing, and sat down.

Mr. Peacock took the paper on which the question had been written back to the platform, and was seen to hand it to Sir Edward Grey, who, having read it, smiled and passed it to the chairman from whom it went the round of every speaker in turn. Then it was laid aside, and no answer was returned to it. After this a vote of thanks to Sir Edward Grey was moved by Lord Durham and Mr. Winston Churchill, and when it had been carried Sir Edward Grey rose to reply, but he made no reference to the enfranchisement of women. Then followed the moving of a vote of thanks to the chair, and by this time the meeting showed signs of breaking up. Some of the audience had left the hall, and some of those on the platform were preparing to go. The women's question still remained unanswered, and seemed in danger of being forgotten by everyone concerned.

It was then that the two women rose together and refused to sit down until their question had been answered. The greatest disorder prevailed, the two women were thrown out with violence, and subsequently sent to prison. But from first to last Sir Edward Grey refused (no doubt from motives of political expediency) to answer the question.

About three weeks later Mr. Winston Churchill was speaking at Hampstead; women went to the meeting to question him, and waited in silence through the whole of his speech. When that was finished he left immediately, so that when the question "Will the Liberal Government give women the vote?" was subsequently put, the chairman replied that there was no one present to answer it.

On December 4 Mr. Balfour resigned, and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman proceeded to form his Government. Two great Liberal meetings were arranged—one at the Queen's Hall on December 19, at which Mr. Asquith was to speak, and one on December 21, to be addressed by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Prime Minister.

Three women went on December 19 to the Queen's Hall. One of them (Mrs. Baldock) rose, after Mr. Asquith had finished his speech, and asked the usual question. Mr. Asquith ignored it, and as she persisted, a number of Liberal stewards came to her and promised that she should receive an answer if she would sit down. She did so. But the question was never answered, and when later the women rose again, they were thrown out of the meeting.

Finally we come to the great meeting at the Albert Hall on December 21, to which Mr. Lloyd George also referred in his speech last Saturday. Before this meeting a letter was sent to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman asking him, in declaring the new Liberal policy, to state what the attitude of the Government would be to woman suffrage. Four women went to the meeting to learn what answer he would make. The speech was delivered, and no reference was made to women. It was then, at its close, that Annie Kenney and Theresa Billington rose and asked, "Will the Liberal Government give women the vote?" They also displayed banners. The usual scenes were enacted. The women were thrown out, but no answer was given to the question.

It was not until women had learnt by the experience of these meetings that the members of the Liberal Government intended to ignore all questions relating to woman suffrage and that no pledges to answer questions would be redeemed that they adopted the modern method of interrupting the speakers in the course of their speeches.

These facts are indisputable; they were stated over and over again in the early days of the militant movement, and no attempt was ever made to contradict them. Mr. Lloyd George had them brought to his attention on many occasions, just as he had brought to his attention that his statement that men and women are paid to go and interrupt Cabinet ministers' meetings is wholly false. Yet he continues to make these assertions.

By what name are we to call this great Liberal Politician who so flagrantly and so deliberately disregards the truth?



# THE WITCH TRIALS OF THE 16th CENTURY

By Joseph Clayton.

(The first article of this series appeared in last week's issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN.)

## II.

The witch fires were fanned not only by the anti-feminist writings of Dominican inquisitors and Lutheran and Calvinist ministers, but also by a flood of ribald and filthy abuse of women that poured out from the Press in Germany in the sixteenth century. The following extract from an Easter sermon by C. Beerman, a Lutheran pastor, is worth noting on this point:—

Not least among the reasons why so many witches are burnt nowadays is the fact that innumerable writers say such abominable things about women, and denounce them all as wicked, venomous, and diabolical in nature; and then, forsooth, they brag that immeasurably more women than men are burnt for witchcraft and sorcery, and that men are much better by nature, and not so venomous, cunning, and crafty. Whereby the people who believe in these writers are incensed against women, and when the latter are burnt they say: "It serves them right, for they are hellish and malignant and like demons."

How far anti-feminism had gone in Germany in the course of Lutheranism may be learnt from Beinhaus, who, writing in 1617, tells us:—

Because "women were so bad" certain coarse-minded theorists started the idea that they were not human beings at all, and put forward these un-Christian absurdities in rhymes and apothegms, and wanted even "to hold learned disputations on the subject," as though it were a question of "serious and demonstrable theories." Thus, for instance, at Wittenburg, in 1595, fifty-one theses in the Latin tongue were distributed as a "new disputation" in proof that women were not human beings. (These theses were printed at Zerbst in 1595, reprinted in a number of places, and translated into many languages.) The Wittenburg theological faculty, on the other hand, issued a warning to students against this movement. "They were to beware," it said, "of burdening their souls with the approval and dissemination of such scandal."

Andrew Schoppius, the Lutheran pastor at Wernigerode, who withstood the anti-feminists, has incidentally revealed that the witch burners of the sixteenth century are very like certain anti-suffrage types of our own day. For pastor Schoppius said: "It was the more incumbent on him to stand up against the slanderers of women, because he knew some of these ruffianly fellows, and among them in particular certain shallow-brained students, and foolish parsons, and mountebanks."

Although no reliable figures for the total number of women sacrificed at the witch trials in the sixteenth century can be given, there are various items in the records of town councils that throw light on local persecutions.

### A Terrible Record

In the town of Ravensburg (diocese of Constance), forty-eight women were handed over to the secular power for execution in the five years ending 1487.

At Gardelegen, fourteen women were burnt 1544-54. At Wernigerode, five women were burnt 1520-23. At Erfurt, three women were burnt 1530-50. At Wittenburg, four women were burnt June, 1540. At Hamburg, four women were burnt 1555, and two died under torture.

At Osnabrück, one woman was burnt 1501, sixteen women were burnt 1561, and 133 women were burnt 1582. At Geisberg (Nassau), three women were burnt 1522.

According to the statement of the Protestant minister, Joachim von Watt, "witches and evil spirits without number" existed in Vaud in the sixteenth century, and at least 300 women were burnt.

In Geneva, under Calvin's rule, from 1542 to 1546, between 800 and 900 women were imprisoned. Complaint was made that "whatever agony they are made to suffer they will not confess the truth," but "within three months thirty-four were put to death."

In the dioceses of South-West Germany, 134 women were burnt in October, 1582.

At Ellingen, 1,500 women were burnt in 1590. At Ellwangen, 167 women were burnt in 1612. At Westersletten, 300 women were burnt in 1612-13. At Leil, twenty-six women were burnt in November, 1616, and four in March, 1617. At Hallstadt, 102 women were burnt in 1617-18.

Throughout Breisgau, Baden, and Alsace the witch trials and executions were particularly numerous, and in Treves, between 1587 and 1593, 306 of both sexes were burnt.

At Gerolzhofen, in Würzburg, ninety-nine women were burnt in 1616, and eighty-eight the following year. It was at Gerolzhofen, in 1616, that:—

Four women who had found their way into the cellar of a day labourer and had drunk up his wine were quickly

turned into witches. On the rack they deposed that in the Gerolzhofen district there were not sixty persons above the age of seven unversed in sorcery. Eighteen women, and then three men and eleven women were soon arrested and burnt. Twenty-six more were then imprisoned and sent to the stake, for the statements of earlier victims were always confirmed by the later ones.

Then the following ordinance was issued in Gerolzhofen:—

Henceforth the officers shall every week, on Tuesday, except when high festivals occur on that day, light a fire for the witches, and burn each time twenty-five or twenty, but certainly not less than fifteen.

Under this local persecution, and it was very similar to the proceedings in many other parts of Germany, the torture chamber produced confessions of every kind of sorcery. The hostess of the Swan, for instance, confessed that she had done away with numbers of people. A midwife confessed to killing 170 children, and an old man declared that if he had not been arrested he would, three days later, have destroyed everything for twenty-five leagues round with hail and gravel stones.

(Although it was forbidden to take the property of witches, the judges in many cases did seize and keep the goods of these unfortunate women.)

Witekind, a Calvinist, and professor of mathematics at Heidelberg, said, in 1585, of the victims of the witch trials: "Thousands have died, and thousands are still dying."

### Saner Voices

Yet there were not wanting men who from time to time urged the claims of more reasonable and humaner feeling while this anti-feminist mania was raging. The Town Council of Nuremberg, in 1531, in answer to enquiries, said that they had "never

had much opinion of this witch business, for they had always found that it had no foundation. Therefore they had never done any more than banish such persons out of our district."

And stout Hans Sach dismissed all witchcraft and sorcery as humbug, telling people not to be afraid of evil spirits, for:—

"If in God you put your faith,

You can't be harmed by any wraith."

There was a parish priest in Bohemia, too, who did his best to check the murderous epidemic when penal decrees were first enacted, in 1579, against witches. Said this good man: "Witches and sorcerers were not able to call down hail and thunder storms by their own power, and to believe that they could was unreasonable, and to persecute them inhuman."

Nevertheless, suspicion of being in alliance with witches was apt to fall on those who denied belief in witchcraft and sorcery, and this kept many from uttering a word while the hundred years of torture and execution lasted.

What made matters worse was that when certain new countries, Denmark and Transylvania, for example, came under the influence of Luther's evangel, although these lands had been entirely free from witch burning in the past, now all who used holy water, holy oil, blessed candles, and similar articles of Catholic devotion might be, and often were, burnt for sorcery.

It was not till 1617 that the general persecution ceased in Germany, the Courts acknowledging in that year that they were tired of witch trials.

(To be concluded.)

## NEW DEPARTURE IN SUFFRAGE JOURNALISM

A Rally of Readers.—An Opportunity for Co-operation

DEAR READERS OF "VOTES FOR WOMEN,"

I know that you are one and all actuated by warm feelings of goodwill towards this paper, and that you are ready to respond to a particular appeal that you should at this time of the year make a special Christmas offering to VOTES FOR WOMEN, of your interest, support, and service. We therefore lay before you a definite project in which we desire your cordial and active co-operation.

This year we are making a new departure in the history of suffrage journalism by bringing out next week a Christmas Double Number, with contributed articles, stories, poems, and illustrations from distinguished and popular writers and artists, enclosed in a specially designed cover in the crimson, white, and purple now known as the VOTES FOR WOMEN colours. It is for this special edition that we want your individual support. The Christmas Number should be utilised in such a way that the paper itself may be brought, more directly than ever before, to the attention of the great public that is already aroused and interested by political events that have resounded from one end of the world to the other.

Orders for copies of the Christmas Number should be sent in at once, either to your regular newsagent or direct to the publishing offices (4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.), for owing to the processes of colour printing it will be difficult to supply extra copies when the first edition has run out, except with considerable delay. Therefore the publishers should know beforehand what the increased demand is likely to be.

We ask you as individual readers to canvass amongst your friends and arrange to take copies for retail sale and distribution amongst the members of your personal circle; also to avail yourselves of the Christmas Number as a Christmas token of greeting to your friends in various parts of the country, or in outlying parts of the Empire, as one of our readers writes to tell us she is intending to do. By an effort in which all readers as individuals can actively participate, a double sale could easily be secured for our first double number.

There is another important opportunity for the expression of your goodwill which we should like to point out. Many firms have entered heartily into this project of a Christmas Number, and have taken a large quantity of advertisement space in our pages. We confidently ask both women and men to respond by placing their Christmas trade in the hands of those who show their respect for the woman's movement by advertising in a suffrage paper. Women's power as chancellors of the family exchequer can come into play here. Let them make it very clear to all whom it may concern in the business world, that support of the woman's movement is essential to those firms who desire to secure woman's custom. In dealing with these firms be sure that you let their managers know quite definitely the reason why your attention has been attracted and your custom continued or transferred.

In warm recognition of your sympathy and ever ready help.

Yours in the Cause we all have at heart,

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

### PAPER-SELLING REPORT

Sellers are reminded that there will be several important meetings before the Christmas holidays, weekly notices of which are displayed at the office. They should make a special effort to be ready with the paper outside Queen's Hall on December 5, when the clergy will hold their protest meeting. Our workers expect to be specially pressed between now and Christmas, and, therefore, will be glad if "Fellows" will come forward to support them and lighten their labours. They would find how easy and interesting the "adventure" is, and what splendid work can be done for the cause in this way. It keeps the subject constantly before the public; it makes them think; it brings in new members and new subscribers; it makes shopkeepers realise that it is worth while to advertise, and there are valuable chances of propaganda.

\* See Janssen's History of German People at Close of the Middle Ages, English Translation, Vol. XII, for this and other statements in this article.



## COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

### LIGHT SENTENCES

#### Common Assault

The *Staffordshire Weekly Sentinel* (November 15) reports case of a miner, a married man, charged in the Biddulph Juvenile Court with a common assault on a ten-year-old girl.  
Sentence: A fine of £1 and costs, or one month's hard labour.

#### Indecent Assault on a Baby

The *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* (November 18) reports case of a man charged at the Sheffield Police Court before Colonel Hughes and Mr. T. W. Ward with indecently assaulting a baby girl of two years and nine months.  
Sentence: Two months' imprisonment.

#### Cruelty to a Son

The *Glasgow Herald* (November 14) reports case of a shiprigger charged at Dundee Police Court with assaulting his son, a boy in a low state of health, by striking him on the back with a chair while lying in bed, and kicking him while on the floor. The boy had to be given food before he could give evidence, the father having taken his 2s. wages from him and given him back only 2d. to buy food.  
Sentence: Thirty days' imprisonment.

### HEAVY SENTENCES

#### Snatching a Hand-bag

The *Times* (November 22) reports case of a stonemason charged at the London Sessions before Mr. Lawrie with snatching a handbag from a woman in Spitalfields, and with being an habitual criminal.  
Sentence: Three years' penal servitude, and eight years' preventive detention.

#### Stealing Umbrella and Watch

The *Times* (November 9) reports case of a footman charged at the London Sessions before Mr. Wallace with stealing an umbrella and a watch at the American Embassy. There was one previous conviction.  
Sentence: Fifteen months' imprisonment.

#### For Trawling

The *Glasgow Herald* (November 14) reports case of a master of a trawler charged in the Lochmaddy Sheriff Court before Sheriff Boswell, with trawling within the forbidden limit off the island of Sandray, near Barra.  
Sentence: A fine of £100 or 60 days' imprisonment.

### THE SUPPORTED WIFE

A wife, we are told by the Antis, is the spoilt darling of the law. She is kept by her husband; if she runs into debt he has to pay her creditors; hers is a happy, irresponsible life; to him falls all the heat and burden of the day.

What have Mr. Belfort Bax and Sir Amroth Wright, and all the rest of them, to say to the case of Mrs. McGregor, of Greenwich, who has had her piano taken away from her, and sold in distraint, because her husband did not pay his taxes?

Mrs. McGregor, remembering no doubt of whom she is the spoilt darling, brought a County Court action for improper and excessive distraint, but she lost, the defence being that there was no exemption of goods that a King's tax collector could distrain on, and the Greenwich judge held that there was no ground of action.

#### A Gilbertian Situation

Mrs. McGregor, who earns her living as a music teacher (does a man always support his wife?), appealed on the ground that her piano was an implement of trade, that it was not the property of the person owing the taxes, and that the distress was excessive. Justices Bray and Lush, who heard the appeal in the King's Bench Division last Monday, upheld the decision of the County Court judge, and the appeal failed.

So, although, according to the Antis, Mrs. McGregor is not responsible for her own debts, she is apparently responsible for her husband's. How much better off a married woman would be if the law did not look upon her as sheltered, protected, and maintained by the man she marries!

### MR. WILL CROOKS, M.P., AND WOMAN VOTERS

Mr. Will Crooks, M.P., was heckled by Suffragists on the Government's treatment of women when he spoke in the Plumstead Baths Hall last week, and on referring to his recent tour in the Colonies he was asked by one of them, "What about the women voters in Australia?"

Mr. Crooks is then reported to have said: "The women have votes in Australia, and there is more child slavery there than any other part of the world. What do you say to that? There are children of eight at the plough. Children doing men's work." (Cries of "Shame!")

He added further that he did not expect

to find Australia an Arcadia of perfection, but at the same time, "children milking cows was a little surprising."

#### Why Surprising?

We are ready to believe that a woman heckler was turned out of the hall at this point for trying to say something. There was certainly plenty to say. Has Mr. Crooks never visited his own English countryside? Does he not know of the White Paper issued by the Home Office a few months ago, dealing with this very question of child labour in Devonshire, where the children arrive at school so tired with milking cows and cleaning out stables that they fall asleep over their lessons?

#### Look at Home, Mr. Crooks!

We have another thing to say to Mr. Will Crooks on this subject. Has he forgotten that when the Government decided to drop the Bill to amend the Employment of Children Act, last session, the Labour Party, of which Mr. Crooks is a member, took no action to force the Government to deal with this very important subject?

Look at home, Mr. Crooks, before you find fault with Australian voters because some of them happen to be women!

### WHY NOT TRY THE WOMAN'S VOTE?

Dr. Murray Leslie, speaking at the Institute of Hygiene last Friday, said that according to the English life tables infants under one month died in the proportion of 130 boys to 100 girls. He thought it would be a statesmanlike act on the part of our public health authorities to appoint a competent body of health visitors, whose sole work it would be to visit homes as soon as the birth of a boy baby was registered.

#### The Only Statesmanlike Act

We recommend to Dr. Murray Leslie's attention a far more statesmanlike act than the one he suggests. Why not give the woman a chance to mind the baby properly, by giving her a vote?

### THE LEGAL PARENT

A solicitor at the Brentford Police Court asked a witness: "How many children have you?"

Witness: (rubbing his head): "I'm sure I forget the number."

Turning to his son, he asked: "How many is it?"

The son (loudly): "About nine."

—Daily News.

## POISONING THE PEOPLE'S FOOD

### Recent Cases of Adulteration—Our Defective Laws—Better Laws in Australia

#### "UNFIT FOR HUMAN CONSUMPTION"

At the Thames Police Court on October 13, the manager of the Alexandra Trust, Alexandra Street, City Road, was summoned for selling bread and dripping to the London County Council which was unfit for human consumption. The Alexandra Trust had contracted with the L.C.C. for the supply of meals to poor children; and bread and dripping were supplied to the Salvation Army on July 17 which were green and mouldy and quite unfit for human food.

#### "Doing Justice"

The defendants pleaded guilty, but said that owing to the weather the gravy mixed with the dripping went bad quickly. The defence was taken into account by Mr. Clark Hall, and he said he would be doing justice if he ordered defendant to pay £2 4s. costs. If Justice is the kind of person we take her for, he was certainly "doing" her.

But would this be considered justice, we wonder, in any country where human life and health were valued as highly as property? We cannot help comparing this light penalty with the one given, for instance, to a homeless labourer, aged 52, who was sentenced to one month's imprisonment on November 6 for taking a bottle of milk from a doorstep at Harlesden! (See *Willesden Chronicle*, November 7.) Is it not at least as bad an offence to sell bad food to starving children as for a starving man to steal a little milk?

#### "A MAN MUST DO SOMETHING TO LIVE"

The Bench to whom this remark was made in the course of evidence against a food adulterator at the Epsom Police Court on October 6 did not reply as Voltaire would have done—"Je n'en vois pas la nécessité." They fined the defendant £12 10s. on each of two summonses, and £2 16s. 6d. costs, making £27 16s. 6d. in all.

This was a heavier fine than is commonly imposed when the people's food has been tampered with to its detriment. But when we consider that the defendant in question had three previous convictions against him, and that his offence on this occasion was that of selling as butter a substance containing 80 per cent. of foreign fats; water, salts and curd 16 per cent.; traces of boric acid, and only 4 per cent. butter fat, we can but repeat what we have said before, that until the law relating to Pure Food is amended so as

to make imprisonment compulsory after the first conviction in such cases, the public will continue to pay for what they don't get, and to run the risk at the same time of swallowing injurious substances.

#### WHERE DOES THE VOTE COME IN?

What has the woman's vote to do with all this? Just this: To begin with, nothing effectual in the way of Pure Food Reform will ever be accomplished until women, the housekeepers of the nation, have a vote with which to bring pressure to bear both upon new legislation and upon the enforcement of existing Acts of Parliament.

Secondly, until women are recognised as citizens, "women's matters," of which the food supply in the home is essentially an important item, will continue to take a secondary place both in our legislative assemblies and in Courts of Law.

Thirdly, until the preservation of life and health is as important in the opinion of the public as the preservation of property, those who poison the people's food and the baby's milk will get off as lightly as those who assault the persons of little girls and babies; while forgers and burglars and even those who commit petty thefts, often in hunger and want, are sent to penal servitude. And a readjustment of these public standards will never be effected until the woman's point of view counts equally in the country with the man's point of view.

#### WHERE WOMEN COUNT

"Food standards in this country are practically non-existent and likely to remain so," writes Mr. J. Wilberforce Green in the October number of the *British Food Journal*. We agree with this sentence, except with the latter portion of it. When women have won their votes, food standards in this country will not remain non-existent.

#### What the Woman's Vote Does

In the same article, the writer refers to Australia (where women vote), and to the report of the "Royal Commission on Uniform Standards for Foods and Drugs in the States of the Commonwealth," which has recently been issued and which, when its recommendations are carried into effect, will safeguard the food supply all over the Commonwealth. Already, this is done in the States of Victoria and New South Wales.

For some idea of what is done to ensure a perfect milk supply in Idaho, where women have had the vote since 1896, we refer our readers to *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, August 29.

## THE DEATH OF MR. W. E. BETHELL

### Local Police Investigating the Case

Information reaches us that the local police are investigating the circumstances of the death of Mr. William Bethell, particulars of which we gave last week, and that should they consider themselves justified by the facts discovered, they will apprehend the persons responsible for injuring him at the meeting.

Whatever steps be ultimately taken by the authorities, it is obviously of the utmost importance that the facts of this matter shall be sifted to the bottom, so that Liberal stewards may realise the illegality of the violence which they almost invariably employ against suffragists.

#### DR. MACNAMARA'S APOLOGIA

Last Friday evening, Dr. Macnamara, M.P., addressing a meeting of his constituents in North Camberwell, opened his speech as follows:—

"Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, my attention has been called to statements made in two journals to the effect that a young man, lately a resident of Brockley, who died on Sunday last of heart failure, died, so it is alleged, in consequence of the effects of rough handling at a meeting of ours on November 7. Mr. Chairman, I am naturally distressed at this suggestion. The meeting of November 7 was definitely convened that I might address my constituents, but a number of persons attended from other parts, including, apparently, this young man. I think it my duty to say in face of this suggestion that the stewards on the occasion in question acted with patience and forbearance. I have felt it my duty to refer to this matter because in fairness to my constituents I cannot allow it to pass unchallenged."

#### A PUBLIC MEETING

We are informed that the Men's Political Union, of whom the late Mr. Bethell was a member, intend to hold a meeting in honour of their dead comrade early in

December, full particulars of which will be announced later.

#### MEMORIAL FUND

We are asked to announce that a memorial fund has been started for the purpose of placing a suitable stone over the grave of the late Mr. Bethell, and that subscriptions to this fund may be sent to the Hon. Secretary, S.E. Men's Political Union, 4, Gervase Street, Peckham.

#### VIOLENCE OF LIBERAL STEWARDS

##### A Real Liberal's Protest

The following letter from Father Adderley appeared in the *Birmingham Daily Mail* on November 22:—

Sir,—I should like to know why the organisers of Liberal meetings stifle all remarks from the audience which in any way seem to criticise the speakers. At Mr. Redmond's meeting two men were summarily ejected because they asked (so far as I could hear) a most pertinent question about Mr. Larkin. I for one particularly wanted to know what assistance would be forthcoming to the solution of the Irish labour problem by the granting of Home Rule. We were told a great deal about South African Home Rule and the wonders it had accomplished, and it was natural for us to let our thoughts wander to the Natal troubles and the Dublin strike. If you shout "Rub it in!" (a most original sentence and one that helps us, no doubt, considerably at this crisis), or if you boo at the name of Sir Edward Carson (which any ass could do if he were trained), you are smiled on benignantly by these champions of free speech, but if you dare to say "women" or "Larkin," you are kicked out. One would have thought that by now the Liberals would have discovered that it was by these tactics that they exasperated the ladies and produced the militant movement. Do they intend to exasperate labour in the same way?—Yours, &c.,

JAMES ADDERLEY.

St. Gabriel's, Birmingham.

All those who wish to be present at the

## VOTES FOR WOMEN DINNER

In the CONNAUGHT ROOMS

Next Thursday, Dec. 4, at 7.15 (for 7.30)

In honour of

### OUR LITERARY CONTRIBUTORS,

Should apply at once for tickets, price 7s. 6d. each, to the Ticket Secretary, "Votes for Women" Fellowship, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

After-dinner Speeches by *Mr. Israel Zangwill, Miss Cicely Hamilton, Mr. Henry Nevinson, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Miss Mary Neal, Mr. Henry Harben, Mr. John Scarr and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.*

**VEGETARIANS.**—Will all those guests invited or subscribing, who wish for vegetarian dinner, kindly write and inform the Ticket Secretary.



# FORCIBLE FEEDING STILL GOING ON

"It would be but to Misread the Teachings of History if one were to Suppose that any Popular Cause with a Real Grievance behind it could be Suppressed in such a Country as England by Mere Prosecutions and Sentences."—Justin McCarthy.

## MEETING IN THE KINGSWAY HALL

Last Tuesday evening a Public Enquiry on the subject of the forcible feeding of Suffragist prisoners was held in the Kingsway Hall. Dr. Flora Murray presided; three Suffragists who have been forcibly fed on different occasions gave evidence under oath of the treatment they had undergone; and Mr. Zangwill and the Rev. Ivory Cripps made fine speeches denouncing the practice of forcible feeding and the whole treatment of Suffrage prisoners by the Government.

### THE RESOLUTION

The following resolution was passed unanimously at the end of the meeting:— "This meeting, having heard sworn statements of women who have been forcibly fed, calls upon the Home Office at once to abandon this most objectionable practice, and to repeal the Cat and Mouse Act also without delay."

### THE SPEECHES

Dr. Flora Murray in her opening remarks said she supposed that there never was a time when our civilisation was so advanced, when we so greatly prized and esteemed culture and refinement, but at the same time there can never have been a time when cruelty was so rampant in the world. From all quarters of the globe the cry of oppression and distress and suffering was coming forth, and those who were strong were taking advantage of their strength to oppress the weak. What were those who sit in high places doing to-day, those whose duty it is to do justice and to love mercy? Where is justice? Where is mercy? Are they not the very people who by their actions are degrading our standards of humanity?

Dr. Flora Murray said she had no hesitation as a doctor in saying that forcible feeding, as practised in His Majesty's Prisons, was a most revolting form of cruelty. She had seen these women when they came out of prison, black and blue from head to foot, bearing bruises and lacerations; she had seen the marks on their hands and faces—(Shame)—and it had often been her most unwelcome duty to help them back to some measure of health, only for them to return to the same kind of torture again.

Dr. Flora Murray then read a letter, amid expressions of deep feeling from the audience, from Lady Constance Lytton, describing her experiences of forcible feeding when disguised as a working woman.

### THE EX-PRISONERS' STATEMENTS

A dramatic half-hour then followed, in which Miss Bertha Ryland, Miss Billingham, and Mrs. Sudd-Brown read statements, in the form of an affidavit, of the way they had been treated when forcibly fed in prison. Our readers are already only too familiar with the horrible details of this treatment; but nothing could bring the full horror of it home more completely to any man or woman than the perfectly simple, unvarnished tales unfolded by these three women on the Kingsway Hall platform, who had each been a victim of Home Office torture. The audience listened in the intense silence that always betokens feeling too deep for words, though now and then it broke into an outburst of uncontrollable indignation on hearing, for instance, of the prison doctor's utter disregard of a broken nose in the case of one prisoner, of a defective nostril in the case of another, and so on.

### Better a Corpse than a Coward

One fine utterance of Miss Billingham produced a roar of cheering. The doctor had tried to dissuade her from the hunger strike and the necessity of forcible feeding, by asking what her mother would say if her daughter were brought home a wreck, or perhaps even a corpse? Her reply was—again we remind our readers that Miss Billingham is a crippled lady, who has been paralysed in both legs all her life—"My mother would sooner have me brought home a corpse than have me brought home a coward."

### MR. ISRAEL ZANGWILL

Mr. Zangwill made a magnificent speech of some length, which we are sorry to be unable to give in full, but from which we take one or two passages. He began by saying why he was on this particular platform. It was not because he necessarily approved of all the later developments of the revolutionary movement, but because it was his business, as it was that of every man, to denounce the system of forcible

feeding. Speaking of the Cat and Mouse Act and of forcible feeding, he cried, "We won't have them; they degrade us, they degrade England." He was naturally a friend of law and order, and that was why he was against the present Government.

Mr. Zangwill drew a parallel between Western and Oriental law, showing how Western law differed from the Oriental in not so much taking into account the motive as the facts of the crime. But he showed how in the case of suffragists judges take motive into account when it tells against the prisoner, by exaggerating what might have been the consequences of their actions instead of keeping to what those actions were, and by ruling motive out of the question altogether where it would tell to the advantage of the prisoners.

### Mr. McKenna's Dilemma

He told the story of what he called "Mr. McKenna's Dilemma and the Way Out," showing how the Home Secretary had a choice of two evils, and chose both. Mr. Zangwill suggested, amid the cheers of the audience, that Mr. McKenna should now decide to choose neither. He should let the hunger-striker go free, "not as a cat lets go a mouse, but as a gentleman lets go a gallant foe." Discussing the other alternative of letting the prisoners die, which Mr. Zangwill considered was very much better than to endeavour to keep them in prison by means of forcible feeding, he said:—

"The Government cannot let them die, because it knows that in their blood the doom of the Government would be written." With regard to the alternative of forcible feeding, Mr. Zangwill said, "There are some things a gentleman cannot do. It used to be impossible for a gentleman to be a hangman; it is now impossible for a gentleman to be a Home Secretary."

Great applause greeted his remark that when people now wrote to him asking him to support protests against the treatment of Russian and Portuguese prisoners, his invariable reply is that he cannot do this as long as English political prisoners are being treated as the suffragists are being treated by Mr. McKenna.

### The Things that are Christ's?

Referring to the recent letters to the Press from two Deans, denouncing militant Suffragists as "criminal anarchists," guilty of "diabolical crimes," Mr. Zangwill said that such expressions were all very well for magistrates who had to administer the law by brute force, but for the Church, which has to go beyond the surface to the spirit, it is fatal. "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's?" Very well! But do not render unto Caesar the things that are Christ's." To call crimes against property "diabolical" needed but an hour of St. Francis to teach this gentleman the dirt of property compared with the spirit. (Applause.)

### A Lamp in Trafalgar Square

Mr. Zangwill, after discussing at some length the actual facts of forcible feeding and reading aloud a statement from Miss Rachael Peace, now being forcibly fed in Holloway Prison, concluded his speech thus:—

"When I first went to Venice, one of the things that struck me most was a perpetual lamp burning in the great Square of St. Mark's. I was told that it was an atonement for an act of injustice committed centuries ago by the State, and that the lamp was kept always burning as a memorial for justice. I believe that this is only a beautiful legend, although it is in harmony with the spirit of Venice which Shakespeare and Shylock knew. Well, ladies and gentlemen, here in London we have done a great wrong to hundreds of women, and when we have swept away the barbarous practices whose disappearance we are demanding to-night, and when we have given woman the simple measure of justice which she asks for, then let us hang a lamp in Trafalgar Square on Nelson's Column, and let it burn for ever in memory of our shame, and as a warning to our posterity."

### THE CHURCHMEN'S PROTEST

Another determined effort is to be made against forcible feeding in a great protest demonstration of the clergy at the Queen's Hall on Friday, December 5, at 8 p.m., when the Bishop of Kensington will be in the chair, supported by a platform of bishops and clergy from all parts of the country. Particulars and tickets may be obtained from the offices of the National Political League, 14, St. James's Street, W.

Not since the time of the later Stuarts has the Church thus risen up against the State. And this time it is no question of doctrine or dogma that has brought the preachers of the Gospel of Peace into con-

front with the Government of the realm. Like the great churchmen of the Middle Ages, the Bishop of Kensington and his followers are making a stand for the liberties of the people and for the protection of an oppressed class that is asking in vain for justice. Men and women of all creeds and of all political opinions should support them in their new crusade.

### MISS RACHEL PEACE

Mr. Zangwill stated in his speech on Tuesday evening that Miss Rachel Peace was forcibly fed last Monday afternoon, and has been fed twice a day since, the doctors trying to persuade her to take food for at least two or three days a week, which of course she refused, and hinting at a reduction of her sentence should she give way. The doctor, continued Mr. Zangwill, used all his persuasion to induce her to take food, and reminded her as a warning of Lady Constance Lytton's serious condition of health as a result of hunger-strike. They tempted Miss Peace with coffee, for which she has a great weakness, and Dr. Forward even offered to allow her to exercise. She said she could sleep very little, and had nightmare very badly, thinking animals were crawling all over her. Her throat was so swollen the tube would not go down, and she was forced to pull out the tube herself; but she said, "In spite of all I intend to stick it out."

Mr. Zangwill made a great point of her having been forcibly fed when she was on remand, and technically innocent, though she offered to give an undertaking if released on bail.

### The Irish Prisoners

We understand that some of the Dublin strike prisoners in Mountjoy Gaol are being forcibly fed.

### AN IRISH DOCTOR'S OPINION

An Irish doctor writes:— "There are two reasons which at once present themselves to a doctor against the use of this method of artificial feeding: one is the fact that the person is invariably resisting against the proceeding, and therefore adds greatly to the danger of the operation; the other is that she is nearly always an invalid through lack of sustenance, and as such is not in a fit condition to undergo so trying an ordeal."

"As a medical man practising a profession in which gentleness, kindness and human sympathy are understood to be absolute essentials, it is to me passing strange that there are men to be found who will advocate the cruel and unnatural treatment of women by the system known as forcible feeding."

### "THE RUSSIAN HORROR"

Below this title the *Daily Citizen* comments on a protest just issued by 600 leaders of European thought concerning the treatment of political prisoners in Russia, and concludes a leading article on the subject with the words: "A word from the British Government would set in motion the wheels of reform, and it is for us to see to it that that word is spoken."

### Soiled Hands

We do not think the British Government will take the hint dropped by the *Daily Citizen*. To interfere with the way another country conducts its internal affairs, one must have clean hands oneself; and the British Government, in the matter of the treatment of political prisoners, have soiled their hands almost beyond reparation. What right have they, with seven years behind them of coercion of women political offenders, to dictate to Russia?

Of course, it will be said that the worst horrors of forcible feeding and the Cat and Mouse Act are not nearly so bad as the prison horrors recently revealed in Russia. We do not agree that this absolves the British Government in the matter. In Russia at least the ruling authorities do not pretend that they hold the same principles of liberty as those whom they torture in prison; nor do they set themselves up to be the leaders of the civilised world in democratic government.

Judged by British standards, the Government's methods of dealing with their political opponents in prison are no better than the Russian methods, and the British signatories to the above-mentioned protest should begin by washing their own hands clean.

### NEWS OF PRISONERS

Dr. Dorothea Smith, the Glasgow Suffragist who was sentenced to eight months' imprisonment on October 15, and was released on licence on October 20, is now reported "missing." Since her release her house has been strongly guarded by police, but in spite of this she has escaped, it is said, disguised as her mother. Miss Morrison, who was sentenced at the same time as Dr. Smith, is also reported to have escaped.

Mr. Harry Johnson, who was sentenced to one year's hard labour last July for attempting to fire a house, was re-arrested for a second time under the Cat and Mouse Act at Oxford last Saturday on the occasion of Mr. Lloyd George's visit.

Miss Ansell, who was re-arrested for a second time on November 18, was released on licence after a hunger-strike on Saturday last. Miss Ansell was sentenced to one month's imprisonment for obstruction in August.

Miss Catherine Jones, who was sentenced to two months' hard labour on November 17 for her protest at the Old Bailey during the trial of Miss Rachel Peace, was released on licence on November 20. Miss Seaton and Miss Aldham, who were similarly sentenced to one month's hard labour each, were released on November 21.

Miss Forbes Robertson ("Eliza") was sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment at Birmingham on Monday. She declared her intention of hunger and thirst striking. Up to the time of going to press she had not been released.

### MRS. PANKHURST'S RETURN

Mrs. Pankhurst sailed from New York last Wednesday on the White Star liner "Majestic," and is expected to arrive at Plymouth on December 3 or 4. Speculations are rife as to whether she will be re-arrested or not on landing in England. A large number of Suffragists are going to meet her on her arrival at Plymouth, and if she is still free, Mrs. Pankhurst will address a meeting in the Empress Theatre, Earl's Court Exhibition, on Sunday evening, December 7.

Mrs. Pankhurst's last public appearance in America was made at the Eltinge Theatre, New York, last Tuesday, where even the correspondents of the English papers admit she had a large and interested audience to hear her discuss the White Slave evil, its cause and cure.

### MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST IN THE EAST END

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst addressed a large meeting in the East End last Sunday afternoon, and at the close of it was escorted home under the eyes of a considerable number of police by a large bodyguard of supporters, who were said to form part of the newly organised "People's Army." She then spoke to the assembled crowd from the window of the house in which she is staying, and the people, not being interfered with by the police, dispersed without the least disorder or disturbance.

### Miss Pankhurst's Licence

Miss Pankhurst, whose three previous licences have been sold for the Suffrage funds, is now offering her fourth licence, under which she was released after a hunger and thirst strike of nine days, for sale; and in order to give the poorest a chance of buying it, it is to be raffled for in 6d. tickets, which may be obtained from the offices of the East End Federation at 321, Roman Road, Bow, E.

### REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed in the Press to Suffragists during the week:—

**Thursday, November 20.**—Fire at timber wharf of Messrs. Baeson, Richards, and Co., Oxford; damage estimated at between £2,000 and £3,000. Suffrage messages and literature found.

**Saturday, November 22.**—A large stand at Ewood Park (Rovers' football ground), Blackburn, partly destroyed by fire; Suffrage literature found.

**Sunday, November 23.**—Municipal boat-house at Eastville Park, Bristol, burnt; Suffragist literature found. Damage estimated at £3,000.

**Monday, November 24.**—Waiting-rooms at Castle Bromwich Station, Midland Railway, set on fire; Suffragists suspected.

### IN THE COURTS

**Monday, November 24.**—At Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Hopkins, on remand, charged with obstruction, Miss Nina Boyle and Miss Guthrie Murray; bound over and in default one day's imprisonment. Refused to be bound over.

At the Birmingham Quarter Sessions, charged with breaking a window last July, Miss Forbes Robertson; sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment.

**Tuesday, November 25.**—At the Central Criminal Court, before Mr. Justice Lawrence, Miss Lillian Lenton, charged with firing the Kew Gardens tea pavilion last February, reported "missing," having been released under Cat and Mouse Act.

At Leeds, charged with attempting to fire the Headingley football stands, two women, who refused to give their names, called "A" and "B"; remanded in custody.



## THE CHURCH IN ACTION

In last Saturday's *Times* a letter appeared from the Dean of St. Paul's (Dr. Inge) condemning the circular signed by the Bishop of Kensington which has been sent to the clergy, asking them to protest against the forcible feeding of Suffragist prisoners. In the course of his letter, the Dean refers to the militants as "these miscreants" and as "criminal anarchists convicted of the most heinous felonies known to the law."

### PROFESSOR TURNER'S REPLY

In last Monday's *Times*, Professor Turner wrote as follows from the University Observatory, Oxford, in reply to Dr. Inge:—

"What does the Dean of St. Paul's mean by the term criminal? If he means simply that certain ladies have broken existing laws no one can quarrel with the statement, but one may doubt whether it tends to clarify matters.

"Less than a century ago there were laws recognising slavery and imposing penalties on those who aided runaway slaves. Such aiders were sometimes convicted of the most heinous felonies known to the law. In discussions at the time, no doubt, the use of the term 'criminal' was a powerful argument or substitute for one, but a maturer judgment has not approved it.

"Surely something more than breakage of existing laws is required to justify the use of the term criminal if it is to contribute anything to the discussion? An ordinary criminal breaks the law for his own personal ends. One who aided a runaway slave could not be classed in this category, except by those who shut their eyes to the greater distinction because of the lesser resemblance.

"And surely we must allow a similar distinction to-day, difficult though it may be to judge contemporary events. Does anyone assert that the ladies in question have broken the law for their own selfish ends? Have they not rather sacrificed their own comfort? And is it necessary to shut our eyes to the high motive which prompts their actions? We may regret their excesses; but I venture to accuse the Dean of St. Paul's of an excess comparable with theirs when he calls them 'criminal anarchists.'"

### CHURCHMEN'S COMMENTS

The Rev. Dr. Cobb, Rector of St. Ethelburga's, Within Bishopsgate, also wrote to the *Times*, saying:—

"Very many of the clergy will have read the letter of the Dean of St. Paul's in the *Times* of this morning in support of forcible feeding with disgust and amazement. His contentment with torture, we must fain hope, rests on ignorance of the facts, and comfortably ignores all the provocation which has goaded women to frenzy. I am in a position to testify to the boorish and brutal spirit displayed unhappily by many clergy when asked to join in the protest against the outrage of forcible feeding. They knew, doubtless, that they could look for moral support to the Dean of Durham, but none but the Dean of St. Paul's himself would have been able to persuade us that they might count him also on the side of what is sheer inhumanity."

The Rev. C. Baumgarten, Rector of St. George's, Bloomsbury, wrote in a similar strain to the *Manchester Guardian*, saying, with regard to the Dean's complaint, that no alternative to forcible feeding is suggested by those who protest against it:—

"If he had ever gone as a member of a deputation to interview the Home Secretary he would have discovered that Mr. McKenna is not a gentleman who is very susceptible to suggestions. . . . But as a matter of fact various alternatives have been suggested, and have been treated with contempt until too late to be effective. If, for example, as was suggested, those who obviously from political motives smashed windows had been treated as political offenders there would have been no resource to forcible feeding.

"If the attempt to find methods of coercing were abandoned, there would be no need for such a method of tyranny. And if now an up-to-date alternative is demanded, the Dean might perhaps ask Mr. McKenna to treat his women prisoners in the same way as he treats Mr. George Lansbury, or he might even suggest that the Home Secretary should take advantage of the wider experience of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and be guided by him as to how to deal with matters which are more serious, more anarchic, than broken windows or even arson. The most extreme advocate of militancy will not, I

think, ask for better or different treatment than that which is given to Mr. Larkin or Sir Edward Carson."

### THE BISHOP OF KENSINGTON

Last Tuesday the Bishop of Kensington contributed a fine letter to the controversy which appeared in the *Times* of that date. In the course of it he says:—

"With all humility, and in view of the risk of being misunderstood to which my championing of this cause exposes me, I desire to assure the Dean that I am trying to discharge that part of my duty which lies in setting forth peace and quietness, not only by seeking to 'punish such as be unquiet, disobedient, and criminous,' but by being ready 'to hold up the weak, to bind up the broken,' and by remembering the charge, 'Be so merciful that ye be not too remiss: so minister discipline that you forget not mercy.'"

"You, sir, point to 'the very accurate and effective fire of two Deans' directed against our appeal. Those letters you represent as being the worthiest view which the clergy may adopt as an alternative to ours. I can only say that if the Church has no other contribution to make at such a crisis than the Deans, and is prepared to endorse his condemnation of these women as 'criminal anarchists,' 'miscreants,' for whom 'no alternative method of coercing them' is to be suggested than forcible feeding, then, indeed, the Church would be false to her trust as a peacemaker and a shepherd.

"If that were taken to be the considered judgment of Christ's Church in this land, then I feel there would be little prospect of peace.

"It is against that attitude of mind towards this great movement that some of us must protest."

### PROFESSOR SCOTT HOLLAND

Professor H. S. Holland makes a good point when, in a letter to the *Times*, also on November 25, he says:—

"We have the right to expect that when an eminent moral teacher like the Dean of St. Paul's speaks on an ethical matter he shall not ignore the whole point at issue. In writing to you on the militants, he sees nothing but 'miscreants' engaged in 'diabolical outrages.' If that were all, it would be simple enough. But the entire problem lies in the fact that these particular 'diabolical outrages' are done by people whom it is impossible to call 'miscreants.' 'Miscreants' are not prepared to die of starvation for a cause that they have at heart. That is what makes their case so easy to deal with. It is only because militants are not 'miscreants' that you find yourself reduced to the cruel and ignominious result of 'forcible feeding.'"

### THE REV. P. LEWIS DONALDSON

The Rev. F. Lewis Donaldson sends us a letter on the same subject, in which he says:—

"The methods of the militant women may be (as I think) wrong, yet the witness may be right. . . . But what of the witness? Women are in political revolt against the social injustice which imposes burdens grievous to be borne upon millions of women, yet insists upon political and legal servitude. The victims at last rebel, and proclaim war. They refuse obedience; they are imprisoned, and refuse food and drink. The law meets this by 'forcible feeding,' with all its degradation and pain. This is actual if not formal 'torture.' Now 'torture is the last resort of tyrants.' The victims, in these cases, resist unto either death or freedom.

"Now, whatever we may think of the methods of protest these women use, it remains that their witness is magnificent. It is proof of the immemorial protest of the human spirit for justice against tyranny; for right against wrong."

### Chapter I

## Scrubbing Brushes

were made for floors, not for table-cloths and sheets.

You can get the dirt out without scrubbing. And the stains too.

Not with ordinary soaps perhaps.

But you can with Fels-Naptha in the Fels-Naptha way.

That is simply soaking, rubbing lightly and rinsing.

All in cold or lukewarm water.

Fels-Naptha 39 Wilson street London E.C.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### A BOYCOTT OF MEN DOCTORS

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Do you not think that it is high time that women should awake to a sense of their own dignity and refuse in times of sickness, in future, to be attended by the male members of the medical profession? It is quite sufficient to have had Sir Almroth Wright and men of his calibre insulting women as they have done—by dragging forth to public notice what they have learnt in the secrecy of their consulting-rooms, about certain phases of mind to which some diseased women are liable, and by attributing similar states of mind to healthy women. Such an attitude on the part of medical men (an attitude more common than is generally supposed, though not often so clumsily expressed) ought to convince women of the folly and danger of being medically attended by men. For the sake of their own safety and reputation it is time that women made up their minds, once for all, to be attended only by doctors of their own sex.

Further, the majority of medical men have so degraded themselves, and have so disregarded the traditions of their own profession, as to stand by in silence whilst some of their colleagues are selling themselves to the Government, and, as paid minions of the law, are undertaking to carry out a system of coercion and cruelty towards women political prisoners which will degrade the profession in the eyes of all future generations. When the heat of the conflict is over, and men and women have time to reflect upon it dispassionately, the shame and humiliation of the profession which has thus sold its old traditions and honour will be complete. It is absolutely necessary that this should be brought home to those medical men who have held their peace and refused to denounce this shameful prostitution of medical knowledge.

There are just a few men of the profession who, in spite of all difficulties, have stood out against the practice of forcible feeding, and have refused to be silent. All honour to them! They have earned our trust and gratitude. To these few medical men only, and to the splendid—if small—army of medical women, we must in future entrust our health and well-being.

Would it not be possible that an organised boycott of men doctors by women should be set on foot?—Yours, &c., A. MINGH.

### HOW TO MAKE USE OF THE CHRISTMAS NUMBER

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I have decided to order a large number of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Christmas coloured number, which you print on December 5, to keep by me, and post off to my friends and acquaintances so that they get it in their post-bag on Christmas morning. Do you not think this would be a splendid piece of propaganda if most of our "Fellows" did the same? A copy a week or two old does not matter in the least when not sent to regular readers. I should like to suggest that the clergy, doctors, and other prominent men in the district should be included in each Fellow's list. I am sending out these VOTES instead of Christmas cards this year.

I have besides this already placed an order with your publisher for fifty copies for a friend who desires to make good use of this special number.

Wishing VOTES FOR WOMEN all success.—Yours, &c., SUSAN CORPSE, 38, Richmond Mansions, S.W.

### TAX RESISTANCE

Mrs. Harvey, of Bromley, Kent, is again making a determined protest against "taxation without representation." It will be remembered that Mrs. Harvey has suffered imprisonment for refusal to pay her taxes, and has twice barricaded her house and grounds, and lived in a state of siege for months.

On Tuesday her house was carried by assault by a tax collector, a policeman, and a bailiff, who first battered down the garden gate, then the back door, another door, and finally the dining-room door. This took them two hours, and a crowbar, a battering-ram, and a small jemmy were used, one door being almost splintered.

A sale, it is understood, will take place at Mrs. Harvey's house on Saturday afternoon. The amount claimed by the tax collector is understood to be £15.

### DEBATE AT WILLESDEN PARLIAMENT

Large Majority for Government Bill in 1914

An interesting debate on woman suffrage took place in the Willesden Parliament last Tuesday, when Mr. Pethick Lawrence moved "That this House claims from the Government that immediately on the re-assembling of Parliament they shall give effect to the overwhelming wish of the people by introducing and carrying into law a measure to remove the sex barrier to the franchise."

Mrs. Gladstone Solomon opposed the motion, and Dr. Letitia Fairfield supported it. Several members of the Parliament and some visitors took part in the discussion. An attempt was made to induce Mr. Pethick Lawrence to accept an amendment so as to make the motion simply affirmative of the principle of woman suffrage. This he declined to do on the ground that the time had gone by for mere academic support, and that immediate action was required.

In spite of the fact that several suffragists abstained or voted against the motion on this account, the division at the end of the meeting, in which visitors as well as members took part, showed a very strong suffrage majority. 102 voted in favour of the motion, and only 59 against—majority 43. The result was received with acclamation.

Please to Remember

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# CONSTITUTIONAL SUFFRAGISTS AND "ANTIS"

## The Chancellor's Two Replies.

Mr. Lloyd George, when at Oxford last week (see page 124), also received deputations from the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and from the Anti-Suffrage League.

### THE NATIONAL UNION'S DEPUTATION

The deputation from the Oxford branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was introduced by Sir John Rhys, the Principal of Jesus College.

Principal Rhys appealed to the Chancellor "to find a way of taking up, after the Insurance Act and land reform, a third great measure of democratic reform—the granting of the franchise to women. "We feel sure you are the man to take up the question," he said, "and we entreat you to do it, and cut short the amusement of the blinking politicians who play with it to the detriment of everyone concerned—especially the administrators of justice, who, when they have to deal with prisoners who don't want to escape, don't know what on earth to do with them." (Laughter.)

### Government Measure Demanded

Professor Geldart urged the necessity of a Government measure. "We all recognise," he said, "that it is difficult, if not impossible, for anything to be done in the present Parliament. The great tasks the Government has in hand—especially the carrying of Home Rule—will take all their time and energy. We do look forward to something effective being done in the next Parliament, and to something performed in preparation for that. The Government is divided, but it is for the minority to give way to the majority."

Mr. Lloyd George: I am not sure you have a majority in the Cabinet.

Professor Geldart: Mr. Asquith said we had a majority.

Mr. Lloyd George: I don't think there is, since militant tactics.

"The present situation," Professor Geldart added, "is not only profoundly unsatisfactory to women's suffrage, but is profoundly unsatisfactory to the cause of Liberalism. As long as the present position lasts the Liberal party will be a party with a bad conscience. The great body of Liberal opinion is waiting for a lead from the leaders."

### THE CHANCELLOR REPLIES

Mr. Lloyd George, in his reply, dealt first with the supposed Suffrage majority in the Liberal party. "I want you to realise what that means," he said. "You have got about one-third of the party and probably half the Cabinet who are definitely strongly opposed to the whole principle, root and branch. We used to have a majority in the Cabinet, but the militant campaign has had the effect of converting two or three of my colleagues to take a rather different view to that which they took six or seven years ago."

### Position of the Suffrage Ministers

Mr. Lloyd George, saying that the Suffragists in the Cabinet were very much interested in other questions also, proceeded: "It is not a question of whether the party is for or against the suffrage, but of the extent to which they are prepared to go in order to force their views. Are they prepared to wreck the party? Assuming that we are prepared to take these risks, and that we could carry the majority of the party with us, what would be the first effect? The most powerful figure in the Liberal party would probably resign. I have no hesitation in saying that would be an irreparable calamity to the party. There never was a time when we stood more in need of his great qualities than at the present moment—his great Parliamentary gifts, his extraordinary sagacity, and the power which has enabled him to keep the party together all these years. Liberalism could not afford it. With him would be some of the ablest and most serviceable members of the party, and a very considerable section of the party in the country. Liberalism would be hopelessly wrecked for the moment as an instrument of social progress."

### Autres Temps, autres Mœurs!

"There are times in the history of a party when it has to face this temporary disaster, looking forward to a greater and more glorious recovery. There are times when it is essential for the soul of a party that it should do these things. I am not convinced that this is such an occasion. If you find a party dead, unprogressive, inclined to be apathetic and sluggish, with no thought for the great problems round it, with no courage or enterprise to deal with these problems—I should say it is far better that that party should go out, that we should break it and put it into the furnace and remould and recast it in order

that it should come out something much better than it is."

Having thus clearly defined the soul of the present Liberal party as it appears to Suffragists to-day, the Chancellor then proceeded to say that this was not the case with his party's soul at present. It was, on the contrary, "at the height of its utility and service to humanity," and he was not convinced that there was no other way to Woman Suffrage except by wrecking the party.

### Not a Question of Strategy

"You are pressing this as a question of strategy," he continued, "as if it was merely a question of manoeuvring Cabinet Ministers and party leaders this way and that. It isn't. It looks too much to me like attempting to carry through what is, after all, a revolutionary principle without having the body of public opinion behind it. You were making good progress some years ago, but the action of the Suffragettes has put things back."

The Chancellor then delivered his familiar condemnation of militancy and his praise of last summer's Pilgrimage, and declared that if Suffragists had public opinion behind them there would be no need to manoeuvre the Cabinet or Parliament.

Speaking of the Prime Minister, Mr. George added: "I'm afraid we cannot convert him, and his personal appeal is extraordinarily powerful. His finest characteristic, perhaps, is his great loyalty. If he felt he was wrecking the party by his resistance to the suffrage, I feel confident (although I am only speaking for myself) that he would not carry it to these lengths."

### Analogy with Irish Movement

It was impossible, he explained, for Cabinet Ministers to support the cause on the platform because of the opposition of the militants. This illustrated the difficulty of running a constitutional and a revolutionary movement at the same time. The Irish had found the same thing.

He ended by saying: "I think there is much to be said for the suggestion that Liberal Ministers might take opportunities now and again of putting before the public not merely their faith, but their reasons for the faith that is in them. I shall convey that to Sir Edward Grey, Lord Haldane, and others who take the same view, and see whether something cannot be done on those lines."

## THE CHANCELLOR'S REPLY TO THE "ANTIS"

The Anti-Suffragist deputation was led by Mrs. John Massie, and its chief demand was that the question should be referred to a Referendum. Mr. Lloyd George, after saying that the concise manner in which their case had been put was to him another argument in support of women's claim to the vote, discountenanced the idea of a plebiscite, as "those who are keen vote, and those who are not don't worry much about it."

### How to Get a Mandate

The only way to get a mandate of the electorate was by extracting a promise from a candidate to say he would vote for or against a certain Bill. He clearly told his own constituents that he would vote for it, and he was not at all sure it had nothing to do with his election. When the next election came he did not see how a mandate was to be got except by the same process. He thought that the majority of the candidates on both sides at recent by-elections had pledged themselves to support women's suffrage. At the next election both suffragists and anti-suffragists would have an opportunity of ascertaining the views of the candidates, and if, after the question had been brought into such prominence by recent Parliamentary history, the electorate chose men whose views had been so clearly and definitely ascertained, then he thought they must take the consequences whichever way they voted.

### Pledges Must Take a Concrete Form

He did not withdraw what he said at Glasgow in 1907, that the question must be before the country in a concrete and definite form. Candidates should not merely state whether they were in favour, but should explain clearly what particular proposals they would vote for if returned, and if, after the next General Election, people were returned after all these Bills had been submitted again, the verdict of the electorate must be accepted so far as the particular measure was concerned which candidates were known to support, and no one would have the right to complain even if a woman's suffrage measure went through.

### VOTES AND VOTELESS

The electors of Reading and Linsithgow voted against the Government to secure Mr. Larkin's release, and the response was prompt: "Don't shoot, I'm coming down." The contrast with the treatment of voteless women is highly instructive.—*Irish Citizen.*

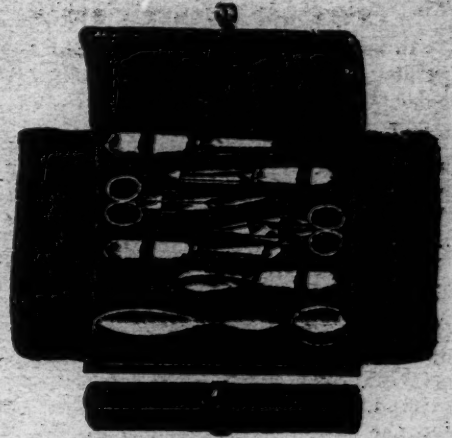
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## WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN OUR COLONIES

### IN SOUTH AFRICA

Miss Margaret Hodge, who, with Miss Harriet Newcomb, has been travelling in Australia and New Zealand and lecturing there on the English militant Suffrage movement, sends us an account of their campaign in South Africa, where they have now arrived. After a week's sojourn only in that country, they had addressed seven meetings, besides spreading news of the movement and doing propaganda work in every possible way. Miss Hodge writes:—"I found Natal very sympathetic with the Suffragettes. It is a thoroughly British province, and so probably realises that nothing is to be got without fighting for it."

"I learnt from one of the ladies at my meetings that the Parliamentary delegates had been through Maritzburg and that she had asked one of the ladies of the party the effect of the women's vote in Australia and New Zealand. The lady informed her that the vote had made very little difference; indeed, the supporters of the women's cause had been greatly disappointed! My informant was puzzled, 'for,' she said, 'from what you tell us, it has made a great difference.'"

"I told her how the Parliamentary Party had spent about twenty-four hours in each place, and just had to learn what they could from those appointed to guide their sight-seeing, that they did not know the Australian women before they had the vote, and so could not say if the vote had produced any change either in the character or position of the women."

Miss Hodge's account of the way the British Parliamentary delegates studied the social conditions of Australia and New Zealand throws some light upon Mr. Will Crooks's carping criticism of the Australian women voters and what they had effected with their vote. (See page 130.)

### IN NEW ZEALAND

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Lady Stout has for the last three or four months been conducting a campaign in New Zealand on behalf of social reform. The Minister for Justice was first approached. On receiving his reply that there was no intention of introducing such legislation in the coming Session, Lady Stout and her supporters determined to organise such a demand on the part of the women voters of the country that no Ministry would venture to resist it.

She has now held meetings composed of women of every shade of political opinion in every one of the larger cities and in many of the smaller towns, from the North to the South of the two islands. The fol-

lowing resolutions have been brought forward, explained, discussed, and finally passed at each meeting:—

### Resolutions

1. That the age of consent be raised, and that the man be held responsible for knowing the age of the girl.
2. In the case of assault by a guardian or employer, that the age of consent be not less than twenty-one years.
3. That the marriage age be raised to sixteen years for girls and eighteen years for boys.
4. That boys up to eighteen years of age should be protected from the solicitations of older women.
5. That the punishment for indecent assault on feeble-minded girls be made more severe, irrespective of age, and that the time limit in which information must be laid before a magistrate in cases of indecent assault be extended to at least a year.
6. That farm colonies should be provided for women who have had two or more illegitimate children.
7. That when an accused man brings a friend or friends to swear to immoral relations with a girl, both, or all, of the men should pay a share of the maintenance.
8. That power be granted by a magistrate to an employer to deduct maintenance fees from a man's wages, either for a wife or for illegitimate children. (This is at present done in the case of fines against Territorials.)
9. That a woman inspector should be appointed for women in prisons, with the same power as men inspectors, and that some of the women visitors should be made Justices of the Peace, as in the case of men visitors.
10. That women doctors should be appointed to mental hospitals for the women's side.

### Result of the Campaign

The attendance at the meetings which passed these resolutions has been large, men as well as women being usually present. At the close of each meeting the representatives of all the different women's societies in the district took copies of the resolutions to have them passed by their societies, signed by their presidents, and sent to the Premier. The interest shown in the movement has been very great, and all the meetings have been well reported in the Press.

The campaign has now been completed, and copies of the resolutions having been received by the Government from every corner of the land, the Premier has promised to do all he can to have them put through this session.

Harriet C. Newcomb.



## IS PUBLIC OPINION ON OUR SIDE?

### How to Mobilise the Electors

In view of Mr. Lloyd George's assertion at Oxford last Saturday that the Suffragists have not got public opinion behind them, the following letter from Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck is of special interest:—

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Having just returned from campaigning for the Northern Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage, I must tell you how greatly I am impressed by the work they have already accomplished.

Formed by the men whom Mr. Asquith was uncivil and unpolitic enough not to receive on the 18th of July last (because, forsooth, they—although men of influence in their own country—desired to speak about a measure the Prime Minister is personally opposed to), this Federation has forged ahead in a remarkably short space of time. It has sent deputations to Lord Haldane, to Sir John Simon, and to Sir Edward Grey, whose replies furnish yet another proof of how to utter many words which yet mean no more than "I cannot answer." The Federation now numbers in its ranks many stalwart Town Councillors, and electors from all political parties determined to obtain for women that symbol of citizenship which the Mother of Parliaments has shown herself seven times ready and willing to grant her daughters, but which is being kept back from them at the bidding of the Pharaoh whom the present "Liberal" Government have enthroned.

### Woman Suffrage in the King's Speech

The Federation demand nothing less than woman suffrage in the King's Speech of 1914, being well aware that anything short of a Government measure is mere childishness. The Edinburgh men headed the posters for their meeting, "Woman Suffrage a National Demand." They are right. I have been up and down the country now pretty thoroughly, and seldom find any thoughtful and responsible business man who does not say he thinks women who pay rates and taxes should have the Parliamentary vote. Many will go much further, especially in the North. I include the more reactionary element when I make this statement.

My work for the Federation lay entirely amongst elected men, and, listening to these, one would have supposed that a few years ago every man had been shouting himself hoarse in his advocacy of votes for women till silenced by the phenomenon of "militancy." If asked when and where militancy began, this kind of elector cannot tell you, nor can he deny that the mere fact of every elector being favourable to woman suffrage without anything coming of it must of itself have been an incitement to militancy.

### Where the Women Come In

And that is where the women come in. The Northern Men are not idlers. They are busy at their works or offices all day. Women must do the spade work. They have all the details concerning their non-political situation at their finger-tips. They have learnt to argue more tactfully and patiently than a man would, and, after the manner of the Scot, they are ready to answer one question by asking another.

The moment an elector has realised his responsibility the men annex him, and he works with them, setting party aside. In the South the word "work" usually means a Committee; in the North it means canvassing on a wet day, or instructing a crowd from a three-legged chair placed in two-inch mud.

### What Action?

The time for action has come. But what action? There was no hesitation in the mind of the daring woman who, rendered desperate by the Government's mean and cruel treatment of political offenders, tore up to Edinburgh, where she knew but one solitary woman, and then confidently made her regal appeal to the pride and honour of these northern men in the name of outraged womanhood. There was no hesitation, either, about the men who came south to acquaint Mr. Asquith with their views. The men's extraordinary enthusiasm at the Great Synod Hall meeting on November 14 is an answer to those who affirm men will not fight for our enfranchisement. Let us put our faith in the real people—the workers and the men of business—and treat the unsexed politicians who have forgotten their manhood, denied their principles, and broken their pledges for the sake of their miserable party expediences as though they simply did not exist. Thus shall we get the vote, and all the barbarities which now disgrace our nation and the Christian religion will cease and be relegated to the background with other historical nightmares. Of course, it needs audacity to insist on an interview with the mighty head of some great firm, either in his office or in his palatial suburban residence or to invade a working man's hard-earned evening in the bosom of his family; but no woman need fear that

her sincerity will meet with anything but friendliness and sympathy, even when it does not find positive enthusiasm for the cause she advocates. One has many delightful surprises—though the invasion of strangers with a demand for "Woman Suffrage in the King's Speech" feels like paying a succession of visits to the dentist!

### Men's Sense of Justice

Recent events have shown that loss of votes is more calculated to instil this fear than anything else—and only men have votes! But, outside the House of Commons, men have something else. They have a sense of justice.

### "An Indignant Woman Demanding Justice"

One of our workers spent one day and three hours in a town that had never so much as considered a resolution for Woman Suffrage before. She did the sixteen Councillors in that time. She did not know a soul in the place, had never been there before, and was utterly unknown. She was merely an indignant woman demanding justice for her sex, and trusting these men to help her towards obtaining it. She was told that, as the meeting at which the resolution was to be considered was a fortnight ahead, all the men would go back on their word. She refused to believe this, and events proved her right, for that town passed a fiery resolution with an additional fierce rider and sent it up to the Prime Minister and other members of the Government.

### The Sword of the Vote

Misled by the grinders of party axes, deafened by the brayings of a servile and contemptible Press, our men will nevertheless rally to the women's standard the moment they realise how their sisters have been tricked, mocked, and ill-treated. Experience is showing they are there ready enough to draw their sword—that weapon of the vote—and use it solely for the purpose of enabling those weaker hands who need it so badly to be armed with similar weapons in order to guard their interests themselves.—Yours, &c.,

RUTH CAVENDISH BENTINCK.

## SIR VICTOR HORSLEY AND THE LIBERAL PARTY

Condemns Cat and Mouse Act, so Must Go!

The Liberal Council of the Harborough division met at Leicester last Saturday, and decided by 81 votes to 17 to cancel their invitation to Sir Victor Horsley to become the prospective candidate for the constituency. The reasons given in the report presented by the executive were that Sir Victor's attitude towards woman suffrage, his controversy with the Government in respect to forcible feeding, and in regard to the Act passed to meet the wishes of those who thought with him, and his participation in a movement to secure a free pardon for Mrs. Pankhurst all tended to alienate from the party electors on whom they were dependent for success at the polls.

### Sir Victor's Reply

Sir Victor in his reply denied that he had treated women's suffrage as the most important question before the country. When adopted as the prospective candidate, he said, he was in favour of adult suffrage, and he had only advocated women's suffrage as Ministers approving of it had. He had always been opposed to militancy, and had said so frequently, but the best remedy for such a disease was to prevent it occurring. They ought to take Mr. Gladstone's line, and associate administration of the law with proposals for reform. An intimation that the Government would bring in a complete franchise measure would be sufficient, he believed, to stop militancy, and they ought not to sacrifice principles to indignation against militants.

### A Liberal Comment

A Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* writes in that paper that the above decision of the Harborough Liberal Association "has opened the question which deeply affects the immediate future of Liberalism. Not to put too fine a point upon it, Sir Victor Horsley was rejected, not because he was a militant suffragist—for he has repeatedly declared that he is entirely a constitutional suffragist—but because he was strongly opposed to the 'Cat and Mouse' Act."

The same correspondent goes on to say that "This is the first occasion where a Liberal candidate had been rejected on a non-party question," and adds that Sir Victor's point was that the Cat and Mouse Act had been proved to be absolutely useless. He urged its repeal, and Harborough is to lose a strong and formidable Radical."

### An "Anti" Plot in the Cabinet?

The writer concludes by saying: "The agitation against Sir Victor Horsley's candidature began some six months ago, and is believed to be connected with a circular signed by the anti-suffrage members of the Cabinet, which, it is said, was received by Liberal agents throughout the country. It can quite fairly be pointed out that Sir Victor Horsley's rejection was largely due to the fact that Sir Maurice Levy, who is member for the neighbouring division of Loughborough, is also chairman of the

Liberal Association of Harborough, and that he is also the whip for the anti-suffrage group in the House of Commons."

### A WOMEN'S COMMENT

Women Liberals in Leicestershire are exceedingly indignant at the treatment of Sir Victor Horsley by the executive committee of the Harborough division. As the result of his humane attitude towards militant suffragists, the executive have now indicated to him by resolution their belief that his opinions would militate against his success! We hope Sir Victor will stand for a constituency liberal in deed as well as word—if there is such a place in this reactionary island. We women are beginning to doubt it.—*British Journal of Nursing*.

### THE INIMITABLE ANTI

Mr. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., in a letter which was read out at the Edinburgh meeting of the Scottish League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, last Friday, said he believed that the Anti-Suffragists represented the majority of men and women.

Then came the following exquisite passage: "In the pressure of other work, I can take but little personal part in the movement, but I am grateful to the women who, at the cost of much which is distasteful to them, stand forward to defend what they and I believe to be the true interests of womanhood, and therefore the real interests of the State."

It would be interesting to know if those Edinburgh ladies still believe in chivalry as a substitute for political power.

### "A. E." AND THE DUBLIN STRIKE

The *Christian Commonwealth* has published in pamphlet form "A. E.'s" (George W. Russell) memorable speech in the Albert Hall on November 1, his "Open Letter" to the Dublin employers, and his letter printed in the *Times* on November 13. These contain much of interest to Suffragists, as they tell of the terrible con-

ditions under which many Irish women and children live, and of their sufferings during the strike. The price of the pamphlet is one penny, it is obtainable from the *Christian Commonwealth* Office, Salisbury Square, E.C., and the proceeds will be devoted to the Dublin Strike Fund.

### THE AMERICAN WOMAN VOTER

In a registration booth in San Francisco an old coloured woman had just finished registering for the first time.

"Am you shore," she asked the clerk, "dat Ise done all I has to do?"

"Quite sure," replied the clerk. "You see it's very simple."

"I'd ought to knowed it," said the old woman. "If those fool men folks been doing it all dese years, I might a knowed it was a powerful simple process."—*Life*.

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## NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

3, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.  
President: Mrs. Cecil Chapman

Mrs. Craig McKerrrow presided at Tuesday's meeting, when Mrs. Cobden Sanderson and Mr. Lawrence Housman advocated tax-resistance as a perfectly constitutional means of bringing pressure to bear upon a Government which refuses to grant votes to women. To refuse to pay for something over which one had no control was logic that everybody could understand, said Mrs. Sanderson. Not even the present Government could say anything against a weapon used by themselves when out of office. Mrs. Cecil Chapman, in referring to the action against the police taken by Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck and herself, announced that a lady who had been present in court when the case was tried had presented the N.C.S. with £40 in token of her indignation at the travesty of the law to which women are subjected.

**CHRISTMAS BAZAAR.**—This will be held at the New Constitutional Hall, Knightsbridge, on December 2 and 3, from 3 p.m. to 10 p.m. It will be opened on the first day by the Countess Brassey, and on the second day by Miss Lena Ashwell. The need of the moment is to secure promises from all our friends to come to the sale. From opening till closing time every member must make it her business to see that the hall is packed. More energy, thought, and time than it would be easy to tell has been given to planning, collecting, buying, and making things for the bazaar. The result, so far, is a large collection of beautiful, useful, and, in some instances, unique objects. The financial success has yet to be achieved. Everybody gives presents at Christmas. Come and buy them at our sale!

### FUTURE MEETINGS

Thursday, November 27.—Dover, Arthur Room, St. James's Street. Miss Fielden, 3.30 p.m.  
Honor Oak, Drawing-room Meeting. Miss Alexandra Wright, B.Sc., Miss Ruby Logan. Hostess, Mrs. Gosling, Southwood, Canonbie Road, 3 p.m.  
Friday, November 28.—Drawing-room Meeting. Mrs. Pertwee, Mrs. Douglas Knocker, Miss Hawley. Hostess, Mrs. Salmon, 97, Linden Gardens, 3 p.m.  
Whitechapel, St. Mary's Street. Miss McGowan, 7 p.m.  
Sunday, November 30.—Hyde Park. Mrs. Merivale Mayer, noon.  
Thursday, December 4.—Bristol, Drawing-room Meeting. Mrs. McKillop. Hostess, Mrs. Malcolm Evans, 3 p.m.

## THE WOMAN'S THEATRE

The newest adventure of women, the theatrical enterprise known as the Woman's Theatre, is going to be one of the most interesting episodes not only in the history of the woman's movement, but also in that of the English drama. Our readers will remember an interview our representative had with Miss Inez Bensusan last May, in which she explained the admirable financial basis of the scheme. Every guarantor of one guinea is entitled to one seat in every part of the house, and to an ultimate share in the profits—if there are any. The seats can also be sold again at their full price, thus giving the guarantor a second profit, to be handed over to the Cause.

But apart from the financial side of it, which is naturally sound, women being the domestic Chancellors of the Exchequer, the whole scheme is laid on broad lines, and is likely to have far-reaching effects. It is not probable that a scheme which means the successful staging, production, financing, and managing of two plays of European fame by women alone, will be allowed to end in a week's short run at the Coronet Theatre. A Woman's Theatre of a more permanent kind is a dream that is surely not wholly incapable of realisation.

### The Two Plays

"La Femme Seule," by Brieux, will be given, for the first time in England, in its English form, "Woman on her Own" (translated by Mrs. Bernard Shaw), on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings, December 8, 9, 10, and 13, and on Wednesday afternoon, December 10. Miss Lena Ashwell will play the part of Thérèse, the sheltered girl who is forced out into the world to earn her living.

Björnson's "Gauntlet" (translated by R. Farquharson Sharp) will be given on Thursday and Friday evenings, December 11 and 12, and on Saturday afternoon, December 13. Tickets for both plays can, of course, be obtained in the ordinary way. The cast is no ordinary one, and will include, besides Miss Ashwell, such actors of the front rank as Sarah Brooke, Leonard Calvert, O. B. Clarence, Cicely Hamilton, Edyth Olive, Nancy Price, Susanne Sheldon, Christine Silver, William Slack, and Muriel Wylford.

### GOOD HANDWRITING

In spite of the invention of the typewriter, good handwriting is still an essential qualification. Mr. Alston, of Alston's College, Burnley, Lancs., offers a very effective course of penmanship lessons by post. He has a special system of teaching, and is himself a gold medalist and handwriting expert to the Treasury.

## COMING EVENTS

There will be VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship meetings at:—  
Hope Hall, Liverpool, to-day (Friday), at 8 p.m. Speaker: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Chair: John Ziegler, Esq., J.P.  
Philosophical Hall, Leeds, on December 12, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Cather. Chair: Walter Dodgson, Esq.

There will also be a Drawing-Room Meeting at Mrs. Jopling Rowe's house, Kensington, on December 11, at 3 p.m. Speaker: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Tickets obtainable from Miss Morrison, 11, Addison Mansions, Blythe Road, W.

The London Society (N.U.W.S.S.) will hold a Public Reception at the Westminster Palace Hotel to-day (Friday), from 3.30—6.15. Speakers: Lady Frances Balfour, Miss Sheepshanks, and Lord Robert Cecil.

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union will hold a public meeting at the Carlton Hall on December 1 at 8 p.m. Speakers: Miss Evelyn Sharp, Rev. Drew Roberts, and others. Chair: Mrs. Mansell Moullin.

The Jewish League announce a meeting at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on December 1, at 8.30 p.m. Speaker: Miss Susan Lawrence.

An Exhibition of Women's Work in all branches and a Sale of Arts, Crafts, and Industries, will be held at the Zoo Buildings, Glasgow, from December 1 to 13. Particulars from J. M. Freer, Esq., 30, Ludgate Hill, E.C., or Miss F. L. Fuller, 52, New Bond Street, W.

The New Constitutional Society are holding a Bazaar at Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge, on December 2 and 3, from 3 to 10 p.m.

At the International Women's Franchise Club on December 3, at 8.30 p.m., Miss Lena Ashwell will speak on "Men, Women, and Work."

At the Suffrage Club on December 3, at 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Fawcett will speak on "The International Side of the Women's Suffrage Question."

The Women's Freedom League will hold a public meeting at the Carlton Hall on December 3, at 8.30 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Ackroyd and Miss Nina Boyle.

The Women's Tax Resistance League will hold a meeting at their Offices on December 4; tea 4 p.m., meeting 4.30 p.m. Miss Winifred Holiday will preside.

There will be a dinner in honour of the VOTES FOR WOMEN literary contributors at the Connaught Rooms on December 4 at 7.30 p.m. Chair: Mr. Pethick Lawrence.

The London clergy will hold a meeting to protest against Forcible Feeding at the large Queen's Hall on December 5 at 8 o'clock. Tickets: National Political League. (See page 131.)

## NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

**ETHICAL CHURCH**, Queen's Road.—11, Mrs. Swanwick, "Rights and Laws"; 7, William Peel, "Effects of Church Endowment."

**ST. MARY-AT-HILL**.—Church Army, Church, Eastcheap. Sundays, 9 and 6, views, orchestra, band. Prebendary Carlile.

**NEW THOUGHT CHURCH**.—11.15, at Steinway Hall, Lower Seymour Street. Speaker: Miss Muriel Brown. 7.15, at 78, Edgware Road.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 30.

**KINGSWAY HALL**, W.C. (WEST LONDON MISSION).—Preacher, 11 a.m. and 7 p.m., Rev. J. E. Rattenbury. Morning subject: "The Twelve Apostles. No. 11. Simon Zelotes." Evening subject: "Is Jesus good enough for the twentieth century? No. 5. Can the modern world do without Jesus?" 6.30 p.m., musical service: soloist, Mr. Faulkner Lee; organist, Mr. Frank Idle, A.R.A.M. 3.30, fellowship: speaker, Mrs. Archibald Mackinday; subject, "The Romance of Life." Sunday, December 7, First Anniversary of Opening of Kingsway Hall.

## THEATRES, CONCERTS, &c.

**CORONET THEATRE**, W.—EVENINGS at 8. MATINEE WEDNESDAYS and SATURDAYS at 2.30. This week, "FANNY'S FIRST PLAY." Next week, "PASSING OF THE THIRD FLOOR BACK." Phone, 1273 Park.

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**MEMORIAL HALL**, Albert Square, Manchester.—Friday, November 28, at 7.30 p.m., Concert by Hope Squire and Frank Merrick. Unfamiliar works for two pianofortes. Tickets, 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s., at Messrs. Forsyth Bros., 128, Deansgate.

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**Artists' Suffrage League**, 259, King's Road, S.W.

**Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association**, 9, Grafton Street, W.

**Catholic Women's Suffrage Society**, 55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

**Church League for Women's Suffrage**, 5, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

**Civil Service Suffrage Society**, 19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

**Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association**, 48, Dover Street, W.

**Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies**, 14 St. James' Street, S.W.

**Forward Cymric Suffrage Union**, 53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

**Free Church League for Women's Suffrage**, 2, Holmby View, Upper Clapton.

**Friends' League for Women's Suffrage**, Walden, Gloucester.

**Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society**, 2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

**International Suffrage Shop**, 11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

**International Woman Suffrage Alliance**, 7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

**International Women's Franchise Club**, 9, Grafton Street, W.

**Irish League for Woman Suffrage**, The Union of the Four Provinces Club, 16, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.

**Irishwomen's Franchise League**, Ancient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.

**Irishwomen's Reform League**, 29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

**Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association**, 163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

**Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation**, 29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

**Irishwomen's Suffrage Society**, 27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

**Jewish League for Woman Suffrage**, 32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

**League of Justice**, 22, South Molton Street, W.

**London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage**, Chester Gate Baling.

**Marchers' Quia Ylva Corps**, Duncton, Petworth, Sussex.

**Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage**, 34 and 35, Ludgate Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

**Men's League for Woman Suffrage**, 135, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

**Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement**, 15, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

**Men's Society for Women's Rights**, 65, Avenue Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.

**Munster Women's Franchise League**, 53, Grand Parade, Cork.

**National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society**, 5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

**National Political League**, Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.

**National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies**, 14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

**New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage**, 3, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

**Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage**, 6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

**People's Suffrage Federation**, 31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.

**Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage**, 11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

**Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage**, 2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.

**Spiritual Militancy League**, 46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

**Suffrage Atelier**, Office: 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. Studio: 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

**Suffrage Club**, 3, York Street, St. James', S.W.

**Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee**, 21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

**United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies**, 13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

**Votes for Women Fellowship**, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

**Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society**, 83, Sutherland Avenue, W.

**Women's Freedom League**, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

**Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom**, 10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

**Women's Social and Political Union**, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

**Women's Tax Resistance League**, 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

**Women Teachers' Franchise Union**, 27, Muriel Road, Lee, S.E.

**Women Writers' Suffrage League**, Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

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## WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

**FORWARD CYMRIC SUFFRAGE UNION.**—Public Meeting, Caxton Hall, Westminster, Monday, December 1, 8 p.m. Speakers: Miss Evelyn Sharp, Rev. Drew Roberts, Mrs. Davies, and Mrs. David Roberts. Chair, Mrs. Mansell Moullin. Everybody cordially invited. All seats free. Do come and bring friends.

**LONDON SOCIETY (N.U.W.S.S.).**—Public Reception, Westminster Palace Hotel, November 28, 3.30-6.15. Lady Frances Balfour, Miss Sheepshanks, Lord Robert Cecil (engagements permitting).

**JEWISH LEAGUE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.**—Lecture at Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, December 1, at 8.30. Miss Susan Lawrence; chair, Miss Ida Samuel. "Women in Local Government." Tickets, Miss Mildred Marsden, 82, Redcliffe Gardens, S.W.

**THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.**—A lecture will be given by B. B. Lloyd, Esq., on "The Real Meaning of the White Slave Traffic," at the W.F.L. Office, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, Strand, W.C., on Tuesday, December 1, at 8 p.m. Admission free. Discussion invited.

**THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE** holds public meetings at Caxton Hall each Wednesday afternoon. Speakers, December 3: Mrs. Ackroyd, "The Work of Women on Councils," and Miss Nina Boyle. The Chair will be taken by Miss Eunice Murray at 3.30.

**INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB.** 9, Grafton Street, W.—Wednesday, December 3, 8.30: Men, Women, and Work. Miss Lena Ashwell. Chairman, Mr. Goldfinch Bate.

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The "Votes for Women" Fellowship is not a Suffrage Society, but an association of friends who desire to work together for the accomplishment of a very distinct and definite purpose. It does not compete in any way with any Suffrage organization. Membership is open to men and women who belong to any of the Suffrage societies, both militant and non-militant, and also to men and women who are not hitherto connected with the Suffrage movement or committed to any Suffrage party or policy.

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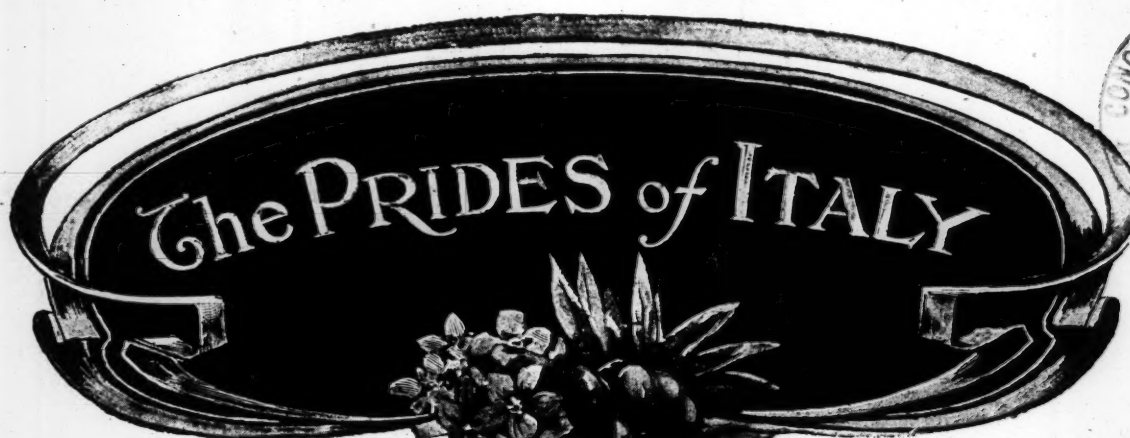
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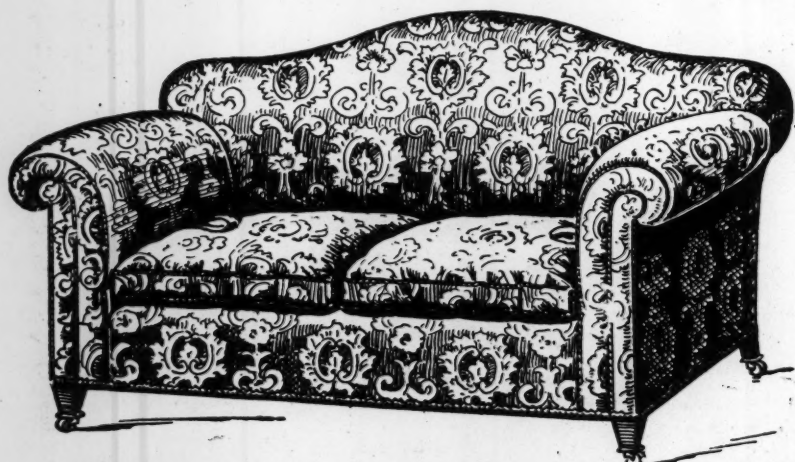
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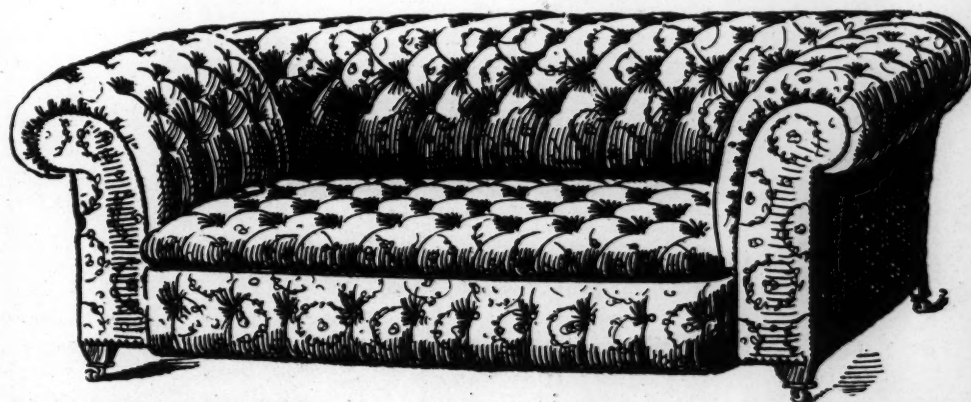
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